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THE NEW DEMOCRACY

VOLUME II

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The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson
Authorized Edition

THE NEW DEMOCRACY

Presidential Messages, Addresses, and Other Papers (1913-1917)

BY

WOODROW WILSON

EDITED BY

RAY STANNARD BAKER AND WILLIAM E. DODD

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II

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THE NEW DEMOCRACY

ADDRESSES OF PRESIDENT WILSON ON PREPAREDNESS

DELIVERED JANUARY 27—FEBRUARY 3, 1916. FROM HOUSE DOCUMENT, 803, 64TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION.

Interdenominational Meeting at Æolian Hall, New York, January 27, 1916.

YOU have paid me a great honor to-day, and I want to say how deeply and from the heart I appreciate it. I feel that you have unduly honored me as a man and that most of the things you have been pleased to say can be truly said of me only as a representative of the great people whom we all love. Because in my efforts for peace I have been conscious of representing the spirit of America and no private convictions merely of my own. It is hard to hold the balance even, where so many passions are involved, but I have known that in their hearts and by their purpose the people of America were seeking to hold the balance even. The neutrality of the United States has not been a merely formal matter. It has been a matter of conviction and of the heart, and in reflecting upon peace and the means of maintaining it, one is obliged to search for the foundations of peace. I can find no other foundation for peace than is laid in justice without aggression. If you wish to be just and insist upon being justly treated and have no motive of covetousness or aggression, I believe you stand upon the only firm foundations which will sustain peace.

The greatest thing in the world, the greatest force in the world, is character, and I believe that character can be expressed upon a national scale and by a nation;

that every act of a nation, at any rate of a nation which opens its counsels to the voice of the people themselves, expresses its character in its attitude toward its own affairs and in its attitude toward the affairs of other nations. America has always stood resolutely and absolutely for the right of every people to determine its own destiny and its own affairs. I am so absolute a disciple of that doctrine that I am ready to do that thing and observe that principle in dealing with the troubled affairs of our distressed neighbor to the south. And similarly it is the passion of America to be permitted to live her own life according to her own principle. The only thing that she profoundly resents, or will ever profoundly resent, is having her life and freedom interfered with. Those are the terms of self-respect upon which we deal with one another as individuals, and those are the terms of self-respect upon which nations deal with one another. Because character is determined, at any rate is manifested, by what an individual and a nation most quickly respond to. I have never found audiences in America responding to any doctrine or purpose of aggression, but I have found them responding instantly, as the instrument responds to the hand of the musician, to every sentiment of justice and every ideal of liberty and every purpose of freedom.

America has not grown cold with regard to the great things for which she created a Government and a Nation, and these are the only things that stir her passion; and surely it is a handsome and elevated passion, a disinterested passion, because at its heart dwells the interest of every man and every woman within her confines. There is a further foundation for peace additional to this conception of justice and of fairness to others. That is our internal attitude toward each other. America has been hospitable in an unprecedented degree toward all nations, all races, all creeds.

She has seemed almost to desire to be made up of all the stocks and influenced by all the thoughts of the wide world. She has seemed to realize that she could be fertile only if every great impulse were planted amongst her. So she has set for herself in this process, which is still unfinished, of uniting and amalgamating these things, the problem of making disparate things live together in peace and accommodation and harmony. The peace of America depends upon the attitude of the different elements of race and thought of which she is made up toward one another.

I have been deeply disturbed, gentlemen, I think every thoughtful American has been deeply disturbed, at the evidence afforded in recent days of the recrudescence of religious antagonisms in this country. That is a very dangerous thing which cuts at the very root of the American spirit. If men do not love one another, they can not love peace. If men are intolerant of one another they will be intolerant of the processes of peace, which are the processes of accommodation. "Live and let live" is a very homely phrase, and yet it is the basis of social existence. I have neighbors whose manners and opinions I would very much like to alter, but I entertain a suspicion that they would in turn very much like to alter mine, and I am afraid that if I began the process in their direction they might insist upon it in mine; and upon reflection as I grow older I agree to live and let live. Birrell says somewhere, "The child beats its nurse and cries for the moon; the old man sips his gruel humbly and thanks God that nobody beats him." I have not yet quite reached that point of humility, and I always accept, perhaps by some impulse of my native blood, the invitation to a fight; but I hope I always conduct the fight in knightly fashion. I hope I do not traduce my antagonists. I hope that I fight them with the purpose and intention of converting them, and I know that I wish that the best argument

and the right purpose shall prevail. It is not a case of knock down and drag out; it is a case of putting up the best reason why your own side should survive. These franknesses of controversy, these knightly equalities of condition in the fight, are the necessary conditions precedent to peace. Peace does not mean inaction. There may be infinite activity; there may be almost violent activity in the midst of peace.

Peace dwells, after all, in the character and in the heart, and that is where peace is rooted in this blessed country of ours. It is rooted in the hearts of the people. The only place where tinder lies, and the spark may kindle a flame, is where still deeper things lie which they love, the principles and independence of their own life. Let no man drop fire there. Because peace is inconsistent with the loss of self-respect. More than that, peace is inconsistent with the abandonment of principle.

But these things are not to be thought of. These things, I pray God, may never be challenged. I mention them merely that we may frankly remind each other of the conditions under which we live. We believe in peace, but we believe also in justice and righteousness and liberty, and peace can not subsist without these. In what you have too generously praised me for, therefore, gentlemen, I have conceived myself merely as the spokesman of yourselves and of all other Americans who, like yourselves, are thoughtful of the welfare and ideals of America. These are very responsible days. I do not see how any man dares utter anything but the truth in this tense atmosphere. I do not see how any man can in conscience display narrow or partisan passion. We are all of one spiritual kith and kin, and a great family is building up here which I believe in my heart will set an example to the world of those things which elevate and purify and strengthen mankind

Seventh Annual Dinner of the Railway Business Association, at the Waldorf Astoria, New York, January 27, 1916.

THE exactions of my official duties have recently been so great that it has been very seldom indeed that I could give myself so great a pleasure as that which I am enjoying to-night. It is a great pleasure to come and be greeted in such generous fashion by men so thoughtful as yourselves, and so deeply engaged in some of the most important undertakings of the Nation, and I consider it a privilege to be permitted to lay before you some of the things to which we ought to give our most careful and deliberate consideration.

The question, it seems to me, which most demands clarification just now is the question to which your toastmaster has referred, the question of preparation for national defense. I say that it stands in need of clarification because it has been deeply clouded by passion and prejudice. It is very singular that a question the elements of which are so simple and so obvious should have been so beclouded by the discussion of men of high motive, men of purpose as handsome as any of us may claim and yet apparently incapable of divesting themselves of that sort of provincialism which consists in thinking the contents of their own mind to be the contents of the mind of the world. For, gentlemen, while America is a very great Nation, while America contains every element of fine force and accomplishment, America does not constitute the major part of the world. We live in a world which we did not make, which we can not alter, which we can not think into a different condition from that which actually exists. It would be a hopeless piece of provincialism to suppose that because we think differently from the rest of the world we are at liberty to assume that the rest of the

world will permit us to enjoy that thought without disturbance.

It is a surprising circumstance, also, that men should allow partisan feeling or personal ambition to creep into the discussion of this fundamental thing. How can Americans differ about the safety of America? I, for my part, am ambitious that America should do a greater and more difficult thing than the great nations on the other side of the water have done. In all the belligerent countries men without distinction of party have drawn together to accomplish a successful prosecution of the war. Is it not a more difficult and a more desirable thing that all Americans should put partisan prepossessions aside and draw together for the successful prosecution of peace? I covet that distinction for America; and I believe that America is going to enjoy that distinction. Only the other day the leader of the Republican minority in the House of Representatives delivered a speech which showed that he was ready and, I take it for granted, that the men behind him were ready, to forget party lines in order that all men may act with a common mind and impulse for the service of the country; and I want upon this first public occasion to pay my tribute of respect and obligation to him.

I find it very hard indeed to approach this subject without very deep emotion, gentlemen, because when we speak of America and the things that are to be conserved in her, does it not call a wonderful picture into your mind? America is young still; she is not yet even in the heyday of her development and power. Think of the great treasures of youth and energy and ideal purpose still to be drawn from the deep sources from which this Nation has always drawn its life. Think of the service which those forces can and must render to the rest of the world. Think of the position into which America has been drawn, almost in spite of herself, by the circumstances of the present day. She alone is free to help find things wherever they show themselves

in the world. She will be forced also, whether she will or not, in the decades immediately ahead of us, to furnish the world with its chief economic guidance and assistance.

It is very fine to remember what ideals will be back of that assistance. Economic assistance in itself is not necessarily handsome. It is a legitimate thing to make money, but it is not an ideal thing to make money. Money brings with it power which may be well or ill employed, and it should be the pride of America always to employ her money to the highest purpose. Yet if we are drawn into the maelstrom that now surges across the water, swirls alike in the western and eastern regions of the world, we shall not be permitted to keep a free hand to do the high things that we intend to do. It is necessary, therefore, that we should examine ourselves and see whether we can make certain that the tasks imposed upon us will be performed, well performed without interruption.

America has been reluctant to match her wits with the rest of the world. When I face a body of men like this it is almost incredible to remember that only yesterday they were afraid to put their wits into free competition with the world. The best brains in the world afraid to match brains with the rest of the world. We have preferred to be provincial. We have preferred to stand behind protecting devices. And now, whether we will or no, we are thrust out to do on a scale never dreamed of by recent generations in America the business of the world. We can not any longer be a provincial Nation.

Let no man dare to say, if he would speak the truth, that the question of preparation for national defense is a question of war or of peace. If there is one passion more deep-seated in the hearts of our fellow countrymen than another, it is the passion for peace. No nation in the world ever more instinctively turned away from the thought of war than this Nation to which

we belong. Partly because in the plenitude of its power, in the unrestricted area of its opportunities, it has found nothing to covet in the possession and power of other nations. There is no spirit of aggrandizement in America. There is no desire on the part of any thoughtful and conscientious American man to take one foot of territory from any other nation in the world. I myself share to the bottom of my heart that profound love for peace. I have sought to maintain peace against very great and sometimes very unfair odds. I have had many a time to use every power that was in me to prevent such a catastrophe as war coming upon this country. It is not permissible for any man to say that anxiety for the defense of the Nation has in it the least tinge of desire for a power that can be used to bring on war.

But, gentlemen, there is something that the American people love better than they love peace. They love the principles upon which their political life is founded. They are ready at any time to fight for the vindication of their character and of their honor. They will not at any time seek the contest, but they will at no time cravenly avoid it; because if there is one thing that the individual ought to fight for, and that the Nation ought to fight for, it is the integrity of its own convictions. We can not surrender our convictions. I would rather surrender territory than surrender those ideals which are the staff of life of the soul itself.

And because we hold certain ideals we have thought that it was right that we should hold them for others as well as for ourselves. America has more than once given evidence of the generosity and disinterestedness of its love of liberty. It has been willing to fight for the liberty of others as well as for its own liberty. The world sneered when we set out upon the liberation of Cuba, but the world sneers no longer. The world now knows, what it was then loath to believe, that a nation can sacrifice its own interests and its own blood for the

sake of the liberty and happiness of another people. Whether by one process or another, we have made ourselves in some sort the champions of free government and national sovereignty in both continents of this hemisphere; so that there are certain obligations which every American knows that we have undertaken.

The first and primary obligation is the maintenance of the integrity of our own sovereignty. That goes as of course. There is also the maintenance of our liberty to develop our political institutions without hindrance; and, last of all, there is the determination and the obligation to stand as the strong brother of all those in this hemisphere who mean to maintain the same principles and follow the same ideals of liberty.

May I venture to insert here a parenthesis? Have any of you thought of this? We have slowly, very slowly indeed, begun to win the confidence of the other States of the American hemisphere. If we should go into Mexico, do you not know what would happen? All the sympathies of the rest of America would look across the water and not northward to the great Republic which we profess to represent; and do you not see the consequences that would ensue in every international relation? Have gentlemen who have rushed down to Washington to insist that we should go into Mexico reflected upon the politics of the world? Nobody seriously supposes, gentlemen, that the United States needs to fear an invasion of its own territory. What America has to fear, if she has anything to fear, are indirect, round-about, flank movements upon her regnant position in the Western Hemisphere. Are we going to open those gates, or are we going to close them? For they are the gates to the hearts of our American friends to the south of us and not gates to the ports merely. Win their spirits and you have won the only sort of leadership and the only sort of safety that America covets. We must all of us think from this time out in terms of the world, and must learn what it is that

America has set out to maintain as a standard bearer for all those who love liberty and justice and righteousness in political action.

But, gentlemen, we must find means to do this thing which are suitable to the time and suitable to our own ideals. Suitable to the time—does anybody understand the time? Perhaps when you learned, as I dare say you did learn beforehand, that I was expecting to address you on the subject of preparedness, you recalled the address which I made to Congress something more than a year ago, in which I said that this question of military preparedness was not a pressing question. But more than a year has gone by since then and I would be ashamed if I had not learned something in 14 months. The minute I stop changing my mind with the change of all the circumstances of the world, I will be a back number.

There is another thing about which I have changed my mind. A year ago I was not in favor of a tariff board, and I will tell you why. Then the only purpose of a tariff board was to keep alive an unprofitable controversy. If you set up any board of inquiry whose purpose it is to keep business disturbed and to make it always an open question what you are going to do about the public policy of the Government, I am opposed to it; and the very men who were dinning it into our ears that what business wanted was to be let alone were, many of them, men who were insisting that we should stir up a controversy which means that we could not let business alone. There is a great deal more opinion vocal in this world than is consistent with logic. But the circumstances of the present time are these: There is going on in the world under our eyes an economic revolution. No man understands that revolution; no man has the elements of it clearly in his mind. No part of the business of legislation with regard to international trade can be undertaken until we do understand it; and members of Congress are too busy, their duties

are too multifarious and distracting to make it possible within a sufficiently short space of time for them to master the change that is coming.

I hear a great many things predicted about the end of the war, but I do not know what is going to happen at the end of the war; and neither do you. There are two diametrically opposed views as to immigration. Some men tell us that at least a million men are going to leave the country and others tell us that many millions are going to rush into it. Neither party knows what they are talking about, and I am one of those prudent individuals who would really like to know the facts before he forms an opinion; not out of wisdom but out of prudence. I have lived long enough to know that if I do not, the facts will get away from me. I have come to have a great and wholesome respect for the facts. I have had to yield to them sometimes before I saw them coming and that has led me to keep a weather eye open in order that I may see them coming. There is so much to understand that we have not the data to comprehend that I for one would not dare, so far as my advice is concerned, to leave the Government without the adequate means of inquiry—but that is another parenthesis.

What I am trying to impress upon you now is that the circumstances of the world to-day are not what they were yesterday, or ever were in any of our yesterdays. And it is not certain what they will be to-morrow. I can not tell you what the international relations of this country will be to-morrow, and I use the word literally; and I would not dare keep silent and let the country suppose that to-morrow was certain to be as bright as to-day. America will never be the aggressor, America will always seek to the last point at which her honor is involved to avoid the things which disturb the peace of the world; but America does not control the circumstances of the world, and we must be sure that we are faithful servants of those things which we love, and are

ready to defend them against every contingency that may affect or impair them.

And, as I was saying a moment ago, we must seek the means which are consistent with the principles of our lives. It goes without saying, though apparently it is necessary to say it to some excited persons, that one thing that this country never will endure is a system that can be called militarism. But militarism consists in this, gentlemen: It consists in preparing a great machine whose only use is for war and giving it no use upon which to expend itself. Men who are in charge of edged tools and bidden to prepare them for exact and scientific use grow very impatient if they are not permitted to use them, and I do not believe that the creation of such an instrument is an insurance of peace. I believe that it involves the danger of all the impulses that skillful persons have to use the things that they know how to use.

But we do not have to do that. America is always going to use her Army in two ways. She is going to use it for the purposes of peace, and she is going to use it as a nucleus for expansion into those things which she does believe in, namely, the preparation of her citizens to take care of themselves. There are two sides to the question of preparation; there is not merely the military side, there is the industrial side; and the ideal which I have in mind is this: We ought to have in this country a great system of industrial and vocational education under Federal guidance and with Federal aid, in which a very large percentage of the youth of this country will be given training in the skillful use and application of the principles of science and manufacture and business; and it will be perfectly feasible and highly desirable to add to that and combine with it such a training in the mechanism and care and use of arms, in the sanitation of camps, in the simpler forms of maneuver and organization, as will make these same men at one and the same time industrially efficient and

immediately serviceable for national defense. The point about such a system will be that its emphasis will lie on the industrial and civil side of life, and that, like all the rest of America, the use of force will only be in the background and as the last resort. Men will think first of their families and their daily work, of their service in the economic ranks of the country, of their efficiency as artisans, and only last of all of their serviceability to the Nation as soldiers and men at arms. That is the ideal of America.

But, gentlemen, you can not create such a system overnight; you can not create such a system rapidly. It has got to be built up, and I hope it will be built up, by slow and effective stages; and there is much to be done in the meantime. We must see to it that a sufficient body of citizens is given the kind of training which will make them efficient now if called into the field in case of necessity. It is discreditable to this country, gentlemen, for this is a country full of intelligent men, that we should have exhibited to the world the example we have sometimes exhibitd to it, of stupid and brutal waste of force. Think of asking men who can be easily trained to come into the field, crude, ignorant, inexperienced, and merely furnishing the stuff for camp fever and the bullets of the enemy. The sanitary experience of our Army in the Spanish-American War was merely an indictment of America's indifference to the manifest lessons of experience in the matter of ordinary, careful preparation. We have got the men to waste, but God forbid that we should waste them. Men who go as efficient instruments of national honor into the field afford a very handsome spectacle indeed. Men who go in crude and ignorant boys only indict those in authority for stupidity and neglect. So it seems to me that it is our manifest duty to have a proper citizen reserve.

I am not forgetting our National Guard. I have had the privilege of being governor of one of our great States, and there I was brought into association with

what I am glad to believe is one of the most efficient portions of the National Guard of the Nation. I learned to admire the men, to respect the officers, and to believe in the National Guard; and I believe that it is the duty of Congress to do very much more for the National Guard than it has ever done heretofore. I believe that the great arm of our national defense should be built up and encouraged to the utmost; but, you know, gentlemen, that under the Constitution of the United States the National Guard is under the direction of more than twoscore States; that it is not permitted to the National Government directly to have a voice in its development and organization; and that only upon occasion of actual invasion has the President of the United States the right to ask those men to leave their respective States. I, for my part, am afraid, though some gentlemen differ with me, that there is no way in which that force can be made a direct resource as a national reserve under national authority.

What we need is a body of men trained in association with units of the Army, a body of men organized under the immediate direction of the national authority, a body of men subject to the immediate call to arms of the national authority, and yet men not put into the ranks of the Regular Army; men left to the tasks of civil life, men supplied with equipment and training, but not drawn away from the peaceful pursuits which have made America great and must keep her great. I am not a partisan of any one plan. I have had too much experience to think that it is right to say that the plan that I propose is the only plan that will work, because I have a shrewd suspicion that there may be other plans that will work. What I am after, and what every American ought to insist upon, is a body of at least half a million trained citizens who will serve under conditions of danger as an immediately available national reserve.

I am not saying anything about the Navy to-night,

because for some reason there is not the same controversy about the Navy that there is about the Army. The Navy is obvious and easily understood; the Army apparently is very difficult to comprehend and understand. We have a traditional prejudice against armies which makes us stop thinking calmly the minute we begin talking about them. We suppose that all armies are alike and that there can not be an American Army system, that it must be a European system, and that is what I for one am trying to divest my mind of. The Navy is so obvious an instrument of national defense that I believe that, with differences of opinion about the detail, it is not going to be difficult to carry out a proper and reasonable program for the increase of the Navy.

But that is another story; my theme to-night is national defense on land where we seem most negligent of it. And I do not want to leave in your minds the impression that I have any anxiety as to the outcome, for I have not the slightest. There is only one way for parties and individuals to win the confidence of this Nation and that is by doing the things that ought to be done. Nobody is going to be deceived. Speeches are not going to win elections. The facts are going to speak for themselves and speak louder than anybody who controverts them. No political party, no group of men, can afford to disappoint America. This is a year of political accounting, and the Americans in politics are rather expert accountants. They know what the books contain and they are not going to be deceived about them. No man is going to hide behind any excuse; the goods must be delivered or the confidence will not be enjoyed. For my part, I hope that every man in public life will get what is coming to him.

If this is true, gentlemen, it is because of things that lie much deeper than laughter, much deeper than cheers; lie down at the very roots of our life. America refuses to be deceived about the things that most concern her national honor and national safety, that lie at

the foundation of everything that you love. It is the solemn time when men must examine not only their purposes but their hearts. Men must purge themselves of individual ambition, and must see to it that they are ready for the utmost self-sacrifice in the interests of the common welfare. Let no man dare play the marplot. Let no man dare bring partisan passion into these great things. Let men honestly debate the facts and courageously act upon them. Then there will come that day when the world will say, "This America that we thought was full of a multitude of contrary counsels now speaks with the great volume of the heart's accord, and that great heart of America has behind it the supreme moral force of righteousness and hope and the liberty of mankind."

Soldiers' Memorial Hall, Pittsburgh, January 29, 1916.

I AM conscious of a sort of truancy in being absent from my duties in Washington, and yet it did seem to me to be clearly the obligation laid upon me by the office to which I have been chosen that, as your servant and representative, I should come and report to you upon the progress of public affairs.

It has always been a feeling of mine that the best place for public servants was in the presence of those they serve, and that it was the obvious duty of every public man to hold frank counsel with the people themselves. I must frankly admit, with apologies to the chairman of the meeting and his associates, that I get a great deal more inspiration outside of Washington than inside of it; not because others are not as devoted as I am to the performance of their duties, but because the people of the United States live outside of Washington. And the subject upon which I have come to address you is one upon which frank counsel is particularly needed.

You know that there is a multitude of voices upon the question of national defense, and I, for my part, am not inclined to criticise any of the views that have been put forth upon this important subject, because if there is one thing we love more than another in the United States, it is that every man should have the privilege, unmolested and uncriticised, to utter the real convictions of his mind. Some of the things that are being said proceed from sentiment, and I would be the last to detract from genuine sentiment. I feel myself moved by some of the sentiments, with the conclusions of which I can not agree, just as much as the gentlemen are moved themselves who utter them. I believe in peace, I love peace. I would not be a true American if I did not love peace. But I know that peace costs something, and that the only way in which you can maintain peace is by thoroughly enjoying the respect of everybody with whom you deal. While, therefore, I can subscribe to every desire which those fine people have who are counselling us against assuming arms in this country, I must ask them to think a second time about the circumstances under which we are living.

There are other counselors the source of whose counsel is passion, and with them I can not agree. It is not wise, it is not possible, to guide national policy under the impulse of passion. I would be ashamed of the passion of fear, and I would try to put the passion of aggression entirely aside in advising my fellow citizens what they should do at any great crisis of their national life. America does not desire anything that any other nation can give it except friendship and justice and right conduct, and I am sorry for my part to see any passion, whether of fear or of dislike, stir the counsels of America. I have counseled my fellow citizens not only to be neutral in action in the presence of the present great European struggle, but also to be neutral in spirit and in feeling, and I have tried for my own part to hold off from every passion. I know it is not easy. When the

world is running red with blood it is hard to keep the judgment cool. When men are suffering and offering up heroic sacrifice it is hard not to let the passion of sympathy take precedence over cool judgment. But while I can understand the excitements of the mind which circumstances have generated, I would tremble to see them guide the decision of the country.

And there is other advice which we get, which proceeds from professional enthusiasm. I am glad that the soldiers and sailors of the United States have professional enthusiasm, but I would not like them to run away with me any more than I would like the passions and sympathies of my fellow countrymen to run away with me. While we admire their zeal, we must square their judgment with other standards than the professional standard. I admire every man's professional enthusiasm, but I would not wish to be guided by every man's professional enthusiasm. It is time, therefore, that we attempted at any rate to apply the standards of our own situation and of our own life to this great question of national defense.

What is that we want to defend? You do not need to have me answer that question for you; it is your own thought. We want to defend the life of this Nation against any sort of interference. We want to maintain the equal right of this Nation as against the action of all other nations, and we wish to maintain the peace and unity of the Western Hemisphere. Those are great things to defend, and in their defense sometimes our thought must take a great sweep, even beyond our own borders. Do you never stop to reflect just what it is that America stands for? If she stands for one thing more than another, it is for the sovereignty of self-governing peoples, and her example, her assistance, her encouragement, has thrilled two continents in this Western World with all the fine impulses which have built up human liberty on both sides of the water. She stands, therefore, as an example of independence, as an

example of free institutions, and as an example of disinterested international action in the maintenance of justice. These are very great things to defend, and wherever they are attacked America has at least the duty of example, has at least the duty of such action as it is possible for her with self-respect to take, in order that these things may not be neglected or thrust on one side.

So it seems to me that the thing that we are in love with in America is efficiency. Not merely business efficiency; not merely efficiency in manufacture and in the professions; not merely the raising of great crops and the getting of our treasure out of the bowels of the earth and the manufacture of our raw materials into the things that are most useful to civilization. That efficiency merely underlies and furnishes a foundation for something a great deal bigger than that. We want the spirit of America to be efficient. We want American character to be efficient. We want American character to display itself in what I may perhaps be allowed to call spiritual efficiency—clear, disinterested thinking and fearless action along the right lines of thought. America is nothing if it consists merely of each of us; it is something only if it consists of all of us, and it can not consist of all of us unless our spirits are banded together in a common enterprise. That common enterprise is the enterprise of liberty and justice and right. Therefore, I for my part have a great enthusiasm for rendering America spiritually efficient, and that conception lies at the basis of what seems very far removed from it, namely, the plans that have been proposed for the military efficiency of this Nation.

Those plans do not involve a great army, because that is not America's way of being efficient in respect of her physical force. We do not intend, we never intend, to have a standing army greater than is necessary for the ordinary uses of peace; but we want to have back of that army a people who can rally to its assistance in

the most efficacious fashion at any time they are called on to do so, but who, in the meantime, are not professional soldiers, who do not take the professional soldier's point of view in respect of public affairs, whose thought is upon their daily tasks of peaceful industry, and who know that in the United States the civilian takes precedence of the soldier.

Your chairman has just told you that the Constitution of the United States makes the President Commander in Chief of the armies and navies of the United States, and not often has the President been a soldier. I have sometimes said playfully that it was very awkward when dressed in a frock coat and a silk hat to ride a horse and review troops, and the only reason I have consented to do so is because those formal garments, the very sombre and formal garments which constitute a man's full dress in the daytime, are the symbol upon such occasions of the supremacy of the civil power over the military. A plain gentleman in black—sometimes a very plain gentleman—presides over the military force of the Nation, and the thing is symbolic. We think first of peace, we think first of the civilian life, we think first of industry; we want the men who are going to defend the Nation to be immersed in these pursuits of peace. But we want them to know how, when occasion arises, to rally to the assistance of the professional soldier of the country and show the nations of the world the might of America. Such men will not seek war. Such men will dread it as we all dread it. Such men will know that the happiness of their families and the prosperity of their countrysides and the wealth of their cities and everything upon which their life depends is rooted and grounded in peace, but they will also know that upon occasion infinite sacrifice must be made of life and of wealth and that there are things that are higher than the ordinary occupations of life, namely, all assertions of the ideals of right.

I am not going before audiences like this to go into

the details of the programme which has been proposed to the Congress of the United States, because, after all, the details do not make any difference. I believe in one plan; others may think that an equally good plan can be substituted, and I hope my mind is open to be convinced that it can; but what I am convinced of and what we are all working for is that there should be provided, not a great militant force in this country, but a great reserve of adequate and available force which can be called on upon occasion. I have proposed that we should be supplied with at least half a million men accustomed to handle arms and to live in camps; and that is a very small number as compared with the gigantic proportions of modern armies. Therefore, it seems to me that no man can speak of proposals like that as if they pointed in the direction of militarism.

When men talk of the threat of what is proposed, I wonder if they have really stopped to consider what is actually proposed. It is astonishing how many men of straw are set up and gallantly knocked down. It is astonishingly easy to prove that something is wrong which nobody has proposed, and this Nation is not going to be deceived by the fears of gentlemen who are fearful only of the things which they have imagined. We are not going to be stalked and daunted by ghosts and fancies. We are proposing a very businesslike thing. I for my part believe that I am proposing a thoroughly businesslike thing. For I am proposing something more than what is temporary. It is my conception that as the Government of the United States has done a great deal, though even yet probably not enough, to promote agricultural education in this country, it ought to do a great deal to promote industrial education in this country, and that along with thoroughgoing industrial and vocational training it is perfectly feasible to instruct the youth of the land in the mechanism and use of arms, in the sanitation of camps, in the more rudimentary principles and practices of modern

warfare, and so not to bring about occasions such as we have sometimes brought about, when upon a sudden danger youngsters were summoned by the proclamation of the President out of every community, who came crude and green and raw into the service of their country—infinitely willing but also wholly unfitted for the great physical task which was ahead of them. No nation should waste its youth like that. A nation like this should be ashamed to use an inefficient instrument when it can make its instrument efficient for everything that it needs to employ it for, and can do it along with the magnifying and ennobling and quickening of the tasks of peace.

But we have to create the schools and develop the schools to do these things, and we can not at present wait for this slow process. We must go at once to the task of training a very considerable body of men to the use of arms and the life of camps, and we can do so upon one condition, and one condition only. The test, ladies and gentlemen, of what we are proposing is not going to be the action of Congress; it is going to be the response of the country. It is going to be the volunteering of the men to take the training and the willingness of their employers to see to it that no obstacle is put in the way of their volunteering. It will be up to the young men of this country and to the men who employ them; then, and not till then, we shall know how far it is true that America wishes to prepare itself for national defense—not a matter of sentiment, but a matter of hard practice.

Are the men going to come out, and are those who employ them going to facilitate their coming out? I for one believe that they will. There are many selfish influences at work in this country, as in every other; but when it comes to the large view America can produce the substance of patriotism as abundantly as any other country under God's sun. I have no anxiety along those lines, and I have no anxiety along the lines

of what Congress is going to do. You elect men to Congress who have opinions, and it is not strange that they should have differing opinions. I am not jealous of debate. If what I propose can not stand debate, then something ought to be substituted for it which can. And I am not afraid that it is going to be all debate. I am not afraid that nothing is going to come out of it. I am not afraid that we shall fail to get out of it the most substantial and satisfactory results. Certainly when I talk a great deal myself I am not going to be jealous of the other man's having a chance to talk also. We are talking, I take it, in order to get at the very final analysis of the case, the final proof and demonstration of what we ought to do.

My own feeling, ladies and gentlemen, is that it is a pity that this is a campaign year. I hope, with the chairman of the meeting, that the question of national preparation for defense will not by anybody be drawn into campaign uses or partisan aspects. There are many differences between Democrats and Republicans, honest differences of opinion and of conviction, but Democrats do not differ from Republicans upon the question of the Nation's safety, and no man ought to draw this thing into controversy in order to make party or personal profit out of it. I am ready to acknowledge that men on the other side politically are just as deeply and just as intelligently interested in this question as I am, of course, and I shall be ashamed of any friends of mine who may take any different view of it.

I want you to realize just what is happening, not in America but in the rest of the world. It is very hard to describe it briefly. It is very hard to describe it in quiet phrases. The world is on fire and there is tinder everywhere. The sparks are liable to drop anywhere, and somewhere there may be material which we can not prevent from bursting into flame. The influence of passion is everywhere abroad in the world. It is not strange that men see red in such circumstances. What

a year ago was incredible has now happened and the world is so in the throes of this titanic struggle that no part of it is unaffected.

You know what is happening. You know that by a kind of improvidence which should be very uncharacteristic of America we have neglected for several generations to provide the means to carry our own commerce on the seas, and, therefore, being dependent upon other nations for the most part to carry our commerce, we are dependent upon other nations now for the movement of our commerce when other nations are caught in the grip of war. So that every natural impulse of our peaceful life is embarrassed and impeded by the circumstances of the time, and wherever there is contact there is apt to be friction. Wherever the ordinary rules of commerce at sea and of international relationship are thrust aside or ignored, there is danger of the more critical kind of controversy. Where nations are engaged as many nations are now engaged, they are peculiarly like to be stubbornly steadfast in the pursuit of the purpose which is the main purpose of the moment; and so, while we move among friends, we move among friends who are preoccupied, preoccupied with an exigent matter which is foreign to our own life, foreign to our own policy, but which nevertheless inevitably affects our own life and our own policy. While a year ago it seemed impossible that a struggle upon so great a scale should last a whole twelvemonth, it has now lasted a year and a half and the end is not yet, and all the time things have grown more and more difficult to handle.

It fills me with a very strange feeling sometimes, my fellow citizens, when it seems to be implied that I am not the friend of peace. If these gentlemen could have sat with me reading the dispatches and handling the questions which arise every hour of the twenty-four, they would have known how infinitely difficult it had been to maintain the peace and they would have

believed that I was the friend of peace. But I also know the difficulties, the real dangers, dangers not about things that I can handle, but about things that the other parties handle and I can not control.

It amazes me to hear men speak as if America stood alone in the world and could follow her own life as she pleased. We are in the midst of a world that we did not make and can not alter; its atmospheric and physical conditions are the conditions of our own life also, and therefore, as your responsible servant, I must tell you that the dangers are infinite and constant. I should feel that I was guilty of an unpardonable omission if I did not go out and tell my fellow countrymen that new circumstances have arisen which make it absolutely necessary that this country should prepare herself, not for war, not for anything that smacks in the least of aggression, but for adequate national defense.

So I have come out from the seclusion of Washington and have broken what I hope you consider a good rule, namely, that a man ought steadfastly to attend to business. Counsel has become the most necessary business of the hour. The most necessary thing to do now is to make America acquainted with her own situation in the world and acquainted with the fact that not all the processes of conduct are within her own control; that, on the contrary, they are daily and hourly affected by things which she can not govern or direct. Appeals of this sort are apt to be only too adequate. I am not afraid that America will do nothing. I am only desirous that she should be very coolly considerate of what she does. One cool judgment is worth a thousand hasty counsels. The thing to do is to supply light and not heat. There ought, if there is any heat at all, to be that warmth of the heart which makes every man thrust aside his own personal feelings, his own personal interests, and take thought of the welfare and benefit of others.

We seem sometimes, ladies and gentlemen, to be very

careless in our use of words, and yet there are some words about which we are very careful. We call every sort of man who has displayed unusual powers "great"; we call some bad men "great"; but we reserve the word "honorable" for those who are great, but spend their greatness upon others rather than upon themselves. You erect statues to men who have made great sacrifices or to men who have given great beneficences. You do not erect statues to men who have served only themselves. There is a patriciate even in democratic America. Our peers are the men who have spent their great energies outside the narrow circle of their own self-interest, and who have seen to it that great largess of intellectual effort was given for the benefit of the communities in which they lived. These are the men we honor; these are the men who are the characteristic Americans. America was born into the world to do mankind service, and no man is a true American in whom the desire to do mankind service does not take precedence over the desire to serve himself. If I believed that the might of America was a threat to any free man in the world, I would wish America to be weak, but I believe the might of America is the might of righteous purpose and of a sincere love for the freedom of mankind.

For my own part I am very much stirred by every sight that I get of the flag of the United States. I did not use to have the sentiment as poignantly as I have it now, but if you stood in my place, ladies and gentlemen, and felt that in some peculiar and unusual degree the honour of that flag were entrusted to your keeping, how would you feel? Would you not feel that you were a sort of trustee for the ideals of America? Would you not feel that you ought to go out and seek counsel of your fellow citizens as to what they thought America to be and what they thought you ought to do honourably and perfectly to represent America? Would you not feel that if anything were incumbent upon you more

than another it was to understand what that flag stands for? That flag was originally stained in very precious blood, blood spilt, not for any dynasty, not for any small controversies over national advantage, but in order that a little body of three million men in America might make sure that no man was their master; and as this Nation has accumulated in population and in power, as the tread of it has shaken every foot of this great continent, as we have built up great wealth and majestic cities and made fertile farms to bloom from one side of it to the other, there have been built up men who were calling constantly upon their public representatives to be trustees of that original conception.

America can not afford to be weak, and she can not afford to use her strength for anything which does not honour the Stars and Stripes. What I want you to do is this: I do not want you merely to listen to speeches. I want you to make yourselves vocal. I want you to let everybody who comes within earshot of it know that you are a partisan for the adequate preparation of the United States for national defense. I have come to ask you not merely to go home and say, "The President seems to be a good fellow and to mean what he says"; I want you to go home determined that within the whole circle of your influence the President, not as a partisan but as the representative of the national honour, shall be backed up by the whole force that is in the Nation.

I know that that appeal is not in vain, for I know what deep fountains of sentiment well up in America. I know that the surface of our life sometimes seems sordid. I know that the men who do most of the talking do not always hear the undertones of our life; but I know that the men who go in and out on the farm, the men who go in and out at the factory door, the men who go in and out at the offices, the men who go abroad upon ships, the men who travel up and down the country to quicken the courses of our commerce, underneath the surface of every one of these men there is the beat-

ing of a heart which is willing to make a profound sacrifice for the country that we all love; and those hearts are now going to be guided by very hard-headed minds, by minds that know how to think and plan and insist; and out of what seems an intricate debate there is going to come a great plan for national defense of which we will all be proud and which will lead us to forget partisan differences in one great enthusiasm for the United States of America.

Overflow Meeting at Soldiers' Memorial Hall, Pittsburgh, January 29, 1916.

I FEEL that I was lured here under false pretenses. I was told that I was to address an audience of women, and the men, as usual, have been usurpers and have come in. When I reflected what I should say to a body of women about military preparation for national defense, it seemed to me that there was no excuse for making any difference between what I should say to them and what I should say to any other body of citizens of the United States, unless, indeed, there was this reason for a difference: There is a sense in which the women of the country live closer to the life of it than the men. The preoccupations of business for the man who has to work for his daily bread and for the bread of those whom he loves and who are dependent on him are such that sometimes the material side of life seems to him the only real side of life. I find that very few men stop to think of the life of the family, of the life of the community, of the life of the State and the Nation; their absorption is necessarily so great in the daily task that the spiritual needs do not often or very closely touch them, and it has seemed to me that in the home, in the contact with the children, in the anxieties for the morals and the daily conduct of those whom they love, the women perhaps feel the

pulse of the country more than the men do. And it is in order that we may preserve the thoughtful ideals of America that it is necessary we should make preparation for national defense.

The old cry for the defense of your hearth and home does not seem to me a very handsome appeal. It is easy to love what is your own, and it is easy to fight for what is your own. No man with a drop of manliness in him would do anything else. The thing that is hard is to fight for the things that do not immediately touch us in order that others may live whom we do not love and do not even know, in order that the great tides of the national life might flow free and unobstructed, in order that the great ideals and purposes and longings of the people we never see might be realized. That is the life of a nation. No man ever saw the people of whom he forms a part. No man ever saw a government. I live in the midst of the Government of the United States, but I never saw the Government of the United States. Its personnel extends through all the nations and across the seas and into every corner of the world; in the presence of the representatives of the United States in foreign capitals, and in foreign centers of commerce. I never saw the Government of the United States. It is an ideal, and I must share its spirit by the use of my imagination. I must make myself a part of it with thoughts that are national—the things that move great bodies of men to devote themselves to great tasks and even great adventures.

I suppose that as the women of the country meditate upon the life that surges around them there must very often come into their hearts something of the profound feeling that pulses through great national existence. I do not believe that the women of this country are interested in national defense merely in order that they may be physically protected. If that was all we cared for, there would not be any spirit of America. The flag would not stand for anything if it were merely a roof

over my head or a bulwark against an attack upon me. The flag stands for something for which we are all trustees, the great part that America is to play in the world.

And what is the part that America is to play in the world? America stands, first of all, for the right of men to determine whom they will obey and whom they will serve; for the right of political freedom and a people's sovereignty; and anybody who interferes with those conceptions by touching the affairs of America makes it necessary that America should assert her rights. America has not only to assert her right to her own life within her own borders, she has also to assert her right to the equal and just treatment of her citizens wherever they go. And she has something even more than that to insist upon, because she made up her mind long ago that she was going to stand up, so far as this Western Hemisphere is concerned, for the right of peoples to choose their own politics without foreign influence or interference. So she has a gigantic task which she can not shirk without disgrace.

In ordinary circumstances it has not been necessary for America to think of force, because everybody knows that there is latent in her as much force as resides anywhere in the world. This great body of 100,000,000 people has an average of intelligence and resourcefulness probably unprecedented in the history of the world. Nobody doubts that, given time enough, we can assert any amount of force that may be necessary; but when the world is on fire how much time can you afford to take to be ready? When you know that there are combustible materials in the life of the world and in your own national life, and that the sky is full of floating sparks from a great conflagration, are you going to sit down and say it will be time when the fire begins to do something about it? I do not believe that the fire is going to begin, but I would be surer of it if we were ready for the fire. And I want to come as your

responsible servant and tell you this, that we do not control the fire. We are under the influences of it, but we are not at the sources of it. We are where it at any time may affect us, and yet we can not govern its spread and progress. If it once touches us, it may touch the very sources of our life, for it may touch the very things we stand for, and we might for a little while be unable successfully to vindicate and defend them. I am not come here to tell you of any immediate threat of a definite danger, because by very great patience, by making our position perfectly clear, and then steadfastly maintaining the same attitude throughout great controversies, we have so far held difficulty at arm's length; but I want you to realize the task you have imposed upon your Government.

There are two things which practically everybody who comes to the Executive Office in Washington tells me. They tell me, "The people are counting upon you to keep us out of this war." And in the next breath what do they tell, "The people are equally counting upon you to maintain the honor of the United States." Have you reflected that a time might come when I could not do both? And have you made yourselves ready to stand behind your Government for the maintenance of the honor of your country, as well as for the maintenance of the peace of the country? If I am to maintain the honor of the United States and it should be necessary to exert the force of the United States in order to do it, have you made the force ready? You know that you have not, and the very fact that the force is not ready may make the task you have set for me all the more delicate and all the more difficult. I have come away from Washington to remind you of your part in this great business. There is no part that belongs to me that I wish to shirk, but I wish you to bear the part that belongs to you. I want every man and woman of you to stand behind me in pressing a reasonable plan for national defense.

The only possible reasonable plan is an American plan. The American plan is not a great military establishment. The American plan is a great body of citizens who are ready to rally to the national defense and adequately serve the national defense when it is necessary to do so. Just as the heart of our politics lies in the breast of the average man, so the strength of the Nation rests in the capacity of the individual man. He ought to know how modern arms are made and how they ought to be handled; he ought to know the rudimentary principles of camp sanitation; he ought to know the elements of military discipline, so that when he goes to the defense of his Nation he will not be a raw recruit, but a man who knows what is expected of him and needs only the guidance of competent officers to do it.

You know how every constitution in the United States —the Constitution of the Nation and the constitutions of the States—lays it down as a principle that every man in America has the right to carry arms. He has not the right to conceal them, because you would converse with a man with a gun over his shoulder perhaps in a different tone of voice than if he had the gun concealed. Concealed arms are not the constitutional privilege of anybody, but obviously arms are the constitutional privilege of everybody in the United States, for the very conception of our politics is that the country is going to be taken care of by the men who live in it, and that they are not going to depute the task. Every audience still, after the passage of more than a hundred years, is stirred by the stories of the embattled farmers at Lexington, the men who had arms, who seized them and came forth in order to assert the independence and political freedom of themselves and their enterprise. That is the ideal picture of America, the rising of the Nation. But do we want the Nation to rise unschooled, inexperienced, ineffective, and furnish targets for pow-

der and shot before they realize how to defend themselves at all?

I am not going to expound to you a particular plan for training a great citizen reserve, because the detail of the plan is not the important part of it. The important part is that it is imperatively necessary that we should have a plan, have it early, and put it into execution at the earliest possible moment, by which we will have a great reserve of men sufficiently trained for any kind of military service and ready when they are called on. These are the things that we are going to have. I say that because I believe it to be an actual necessity; I say it because I am confident that the men in Congress know a national necessity when they see it. I know there will be a great deal of debate and many differences of opinion—many honest and intelligent differences of opinion—as to how the thing ought to be done, but there is not going to be any difference of purpose as to what ought to be done.

Of course, there are some gentlemen who allow themselves to be deceived by very handsome sentiments. If a man is so in love with peace that he can not imagine any kind of danger, I almost envy him the trance he is in, and so long as he is in the trance he is not going to do anything but enjoy the vision. But such men are not many. America is a hard-headed nation, and America generally wants to see the facts as they come before they get here. And the facts of the world are such that it is my duty to counsel my fellow citizens that preparation for national defense can not any longer be postponed.

I am not one of those who believe that a great standing army is the means of maintaining peace, because if you build up a great profession those who form parts of it want to exercise their professions, and I can not blame them for it. I should myself hate to be ready to do an expert thing and never be permitted to do it. But, for my part, I am sure we have never

encouraged in America the spirit of militarism, and we shall never have militarism in the United States. What I am particularly interested in is that my fellow citizens should make a distinction between militarism in any form and the things that are now being proposed to the Congress of the United States. If men are engaged nine months out of the twelve in the pursuits of commerce and manufacture and agriculture and are in camp to take a little training only two or three months in the year, do you suppose they are going to have the spirit of the three months and not the spirit of the nine months? Do you not see that they are immersed in the civil and economic life of the Nation? They know what war means; they know what it will cost them and those dependent on them. There will be bred in them no spirit of military ardor; there will merely be bred in them a sober spirit of readiness to defend peace and fend off war, to make good the ideals of America and the performance of all the great tasks which she has set herself. And there will be also bred in them the spirit of obedience, the thought of the Nation, the consciousness of having some kind of personal connection with the great body politic which they profess as citizens to serve; and there will be in them great fountains of sober sentiment which will affect their neighbors as well as themselves, and Americans will be a little less careless of the general interest of the Nation, a little less thoughtful of their own peculiar and selfish interest, and something of the old spirit of '76, which was not the spirit of aggression, but the spirit of love of country and pure and undefiled patriotism, will grow stronger and stronger in this country that we love.

And so, my fellow citizens, what I am pleading for with the utmost confidence is the revival of that great spirit of patriotism for which a hall like this stands as a symbol. I was saying the other night that it was a very interesting circumstance that we never hang a lad's yardstick up over the mantelpiece, but that we do hang

his musket up when he is gone. Not because the musket stands for a finer thing than the yardstick in itself—it is a brutal thing to kill—but that the musket stood for the risk of life, for something greater than the lad's own self. It stood for infinite sacrifice to the point of death, and it is for that sentiment of willingness to die for something greater than ourselves that we hang the musket up over the mantelpiece, and in doing so make a sacred record of the high service of the family from which it sprang.

It is for that reason that we erect buildings like this; it is for that reason that we make monuments to those who serve us; and when we summon the young men of this country to volunteer for brief training every year in order that they may be a source of security to the Nation and its ideals, I know that the response will bring something more than a few thousand youngsters in the field; it will bring the spirit of America back to self-consciousness, and we shall again know what it is to belong to a country that throbs with a spirit of life that will arrest the attention of mankind.

Cleveland, January 29, 1916.

I ESTEEM it a real privilege to be in Cleveland again and to address you upon the serious questions of public policy which now confront us. I have not given myself this sort of pleasure very often since I have been President, for I hope that you have observed what my conception of the office of President is. I do not believe that, ordinarily speaking, it is a speech-making office. I have found the exactions of it such that it was absolutely necessary for me to remain constantly in touch with the daily changes of public business, and you so arranged it that I should be President at a time when there was a great deal of public business to remain in touch with. But the times are such, gentlemen, that

it is necessary that we should take common counsel together regarding them.

I suppose that this country has never found itself before in so singular a position. The present situation of the world would, only a twelvemonth ago, even after the European war had started, have seemed incredible, and yet now the things that no man anticipated have happened. The titanic struggle continues. The difficulties of the world's affairs accumulate. It was, of course, evident that this was taking place long before the present session of Congress assembled, but only since the Congress assembled has it been possible to consider what we ought to do in the new circumstances of the times. Congress can not know what to do unless the Nation knows what to do, and it seemed to me not only my privilege but my duty to go out and inform my fellow countrymen just what I understood the present situation to be.

What are the elements of the case? In the first place, and most obviously, two-thirds of the world are at war. It is not merely a European struggle; nations in the Orient have become involved, as well as nations in the west, and everywhere there seems to be creeping even upon the nations disengaged the spirit and the threat of war. All the world outside of America is on fire.

Do you wonder that men's imaginations take color from the situation? Do you wonder that there is a great reaction against war? Do you wonder that the passion for peace grows stronger as the spectacle grows more tremendous and more overwhelming? Do you wonder, on the other hand, that men's sympathies become deeply engaged on the one side or the other? For no small things are happening. This is a struggle which will determine the history of the world, I dare say, for more than a century to come. The world will never be the same again after this war is over. The

change may be for weal or it may be for woe, but it will be fundamental and tremendous.

And in the meantime we, the people of the United States, are the one great disengaged power, the one neutral power, finding it exceedingly difficult to be neutral, because, like men everywhere else, we are human; we have the deep passions of mankind in us; we have sympathies that are as easily stirred as the sympathies of any other people; we have interests which we see being drawn slowly into the maelstrom of this tremendous upheaval. It is very difficult for us to hold off and look with cool judgment upon such stupendous matters.

And yet we have held off. It has not been easy for the Government at Washington to avoid the entanglements which seemed to beset it on every side. It has needed a great deal of watchfulness and an unremitting patience to do so, but all the while no American could fail to be aware that America did not wish to become engaged, that she wished to hold apart; not because she did not perceive the issues of the struggle, but because she thought her duties to be the duties of peace and of separate action. And all the while the nations themselves that were engaged seemed to be looking to us for some sort of action, not hostile in character but sympathetic in character. Hardly a single thing has occurred in Europe which has in any degree shocked the sensibilities of mankind that the Government of the United States has not been called upon by the one side or the other to protest and intervene with its moral influence, if not with its physical force. It is as if we were the great audience before whom this stupendous drama is being played out, and we are asked to comment upon the turns and crises of the plot. And not only are we the audience, and challenged to be the umpire so far as the opinion of the world is concerned, but all the while our own life touches these matters at many points of vital contact.

The United States is trying to keep up the processes

of peaceful commerce while all the world is at war and while all the world is in need of the essential things which the United States produces, and yet by an oversight for which it is difficult to forgive ourselves we did not provide ourselves when there was proper peace and opportunity with a mercantile marine, by means of which we could carry the commerce of the world without the interference of the motives of other nations which might be engaged in controversy not our own; and so the carrying trade of the world is for the most part in the hands of the nations now embroiled in this great struggle. Americans have gone to all quarters of the world, Americans are serving the business of the world in every part of it, and every one of these men when his affairs touch the regions that are on fire is our ward, and we must see to his rights and that they are respected. Do you not see how all the sensitive places of our life touch these great disturbances?

Now in the midst of all this, what is it that we are called on to do as a nation? I suppose that from the first America has had one peculiar and particular mission in the world. Other nations have grown rich, my fellow citizens, other nations have been as powerful as we in material resources in comparison with the other nations of the world, other nations have built up empires and exercised dominion; we are not peculiar in any of these things, but we are peculiar in this, that from the first we have dedicated our force to the service of justice and righteousness and peace. We have said, "Our chief interest is not in the rights of property but in the rights of men; our chief interest is in the spirits of men that they might be free, that they might enjoy their lives unmolested so long as they observed the just rules of the game, that they might deal with their fellowmen with their heads erect, the subjects and servants of no man; the servants only of the principles upon which their lives rested." And America has done more than care for her own people and think of her own

fortunes in these great matters. She has said ever since the time of President Monroe that she was the champion of the freedom and the separate sovereignty of peoples throughout the Western Hemisphere. She is trustee for these ideals and she is pledged, deeply and permanently pledged, to keep these momentous promises.

She not only, therefore, must play her part in keeping this conflagration from spreading to the people of the United States; she must also keep this conflagration from spreading on this side of the sea. These are matters in which our very life and our whole pride are embedded and rooted, and we can never draw back from them. And I, my fellow citizens, because of the extraordinary office with which you have intrusted me, must, whether I will or not, be your responsible spokesman in these great matters. It is my duty, therefore, when impressions are deeply borne in upon me with regard to the national welfare to speak to you with the utmost frankness about them, and that is the errand upon which I have come away from Washington.

For my own part, I am sorry that these things fall within the year of a national political campaign. They ought to have nothing whatever to do with politics. The man who brings partisan feeling into these matters and seeks partisan advantage by means of them is unworthy of your confidence. I am sorry that upon the eve of a campaign we should be obliged to discuss these things, for fear they might run over into the campaign and seem to constitute a part of it. Let us forget that this is a year of national elections. That is neither here nor there. The thing to do now is for all men of all parties to think along the same lines and do the same things and forget every difference that may have divided them.

And what ought they to do? In the first place, they ought to tell the truth. There have been some extraordinary exaggerations both of the military weakness

and the military strength of this country. Some men tell you that we have no means of defense and others tell you that we have sufficient means of defense, and neither statement is true. Take, for example, the matter of our coast defenses. It is obvious to every man that they are of the most vital importance to the country. Such coast defenses as we have are strong and admirable, but we have not got coast defenses in enough places. Their quality is admirable, but their quantity is insufficient. The military authorities of this country have not been negligent; they have sought adequate appropriations from Congress, and in most instances have obtained them, so far as we saw the work in hand that it was necessary to do, and the work that they have done in the use of these appropriations has been admirable and skillful work. Do not let anybody deceive you into supposing that the Army of the United States, so far as it has had opportunity, is in any degree unworthy of your confidence.

And the Navy of the United States. You have been told that it is the second in strength in the world. I am sorry to say that experts do not agree with those who tell you that. Reckoning by its actual strength, I believe it to be one of the most efficient navies in the world, but in strength it ranks fourth, not second. You must reckon with the fact that it is necessary that that should be our first arm of defense, and you ought to insist that everything should be done that it is possible for us to do to bring the Navy up to an adequate standard of strength and efficiency.

Where we are chiefly lacking in preparation is on land and in the number of men who are ready to fight. Not the number of fighting men, but the number of men who are ready to fight. Some men are born troublesome, some men have trouble thrust upon them, and other men acquire trouble. I think I belong to the second class. But the characteristic desire of America is not that she should have a great body of men whose

chief business is to fight, but a great body of men who know how to fight and are ready to fight when anything that is dear to the Nation is threatened. You might have what we have, millions of men who had never handled arms of war, who are mere material for shot and powder if you put them in the field, and America would be ashamed of the inefficiency of calling such men to defend the Nation. What we want is to associate in training with the Army of the United States men who will volunteer for a sufficient length of time every year to get a rudimentary acquaintance with arms, a rudimentary skill in handling them, a rudimentary acquaintance with camp life, a rudimentary acquaintance with military drill and discipline; and we ought to see to it that we have men of that sort in sufficient number to constitute an initial army when we need an army for the defense of the country.

I have heard it stated that there are probably several million men in this country who have received a sufficient amount of military drill either here or in the countries in which they were born and from which they have come to us. Perhaps there are, nobody knows, because there is no means of counting them; but if there are so many, they are not obliged to come at our call; we do not know who they are. That is not military preparation. Military preparation consists in the existence of such a body of men known to the Federal authorities, organized provisionally by the Federal authorities, and subject by their own choice and will to the immediate call of the Federal authorities.

We have no such body of men in the United States except the National Guard. Now, I have a very great respect for the National Guard. I have been associated with one section of that guard in one of the great States of the Union, and I know the character of the officers and the quality of the men, and I would trust them unhesitatingly both for skill and for efficiency, but the whole National Guard of the United States falls short

of 130,000 men. It is characterized by a very great variety of discipline and efficiency as between State and State, and it is by the Constitution itself put under authority of more than two score State executives. The President of the United States has not the right to call on these men except in the case of actual invasion, and, therefore, no matter how skillful they are, no matter how ready they are, they are not the instruments for immediate National use. I believe that the Congress of the United States ought to do, and that it will do, a great deal more for the National Guard than it ever has done, and everything ought to be done to make it a model military arm.

But that is not the arm that we are immediately interested in. We are interestd in making certain that there are men all over the United States prepared, equipped, and ready to go out at the call of the National Government upon the shortest possible notice. You will ask me, "Why do you say the shortest possible notice?" Because, gentlemen, let me tell you very solemnly you can not afford to postpone this thing. I do not know what a single day may bring forth. I do not wish to leave you with the impression that I am thinking of some particular danger; I merely want to leave you with this solemn impression, that I know that we are daily treading amidst the most intricate dangers, and that the dangers that we are treading amongst are not of our making and are not under our control, and that no man in the United States knows what a single week or a single day or a single hour may bring forth. These are solemn things to say to you but I would be unworthy of my office if I did not come out and tell you with absolute frankness just exactly what I understand the situation to be.

I do not wish to hurry the Congress of the United States. These things are too important to be put through without very thorough sifting and debate and I am not in the least jealous of any of the searching pro-

cesses of discussion. That is what free people are for, to understand what they are about and to do what they wish to do only if they understand what they are about. But it is impossible to discuss the details of plans in great bodies, unorganized bodies, of men like this audience, for example. All that I can do in this presence is to tell you what I know of the necessities of the case, and to ask you to stand back of the executive authorities of the United States in urging upon those who make our laws as early and effective action as possible.

America is not afraid of anybody. I know that I express your feeling and the feeling of all our fellow citizens when I say that the only thing I am afraid of is not being ready to perform my duty. I am afraid of the danger of shame; I am afraid of the danger of inadequacy; I am afraid of the danger of not being able to express the great character of this country with tremendous might and effectivenes whenever we are called upon to act in the field of the world's affairs.

For it is character we are going to express, not power merely. The United States is not in love with the aggressive use of power. It despises the aggressive use of power. There is not a foot of territory belonging to any other Nation which this Nation covets or desires. There is not a privilege which we ourselves enjoy that we would dream of denying any other nation in the world. If there is one thing that the American people love and believe in more than another it is peace and all the handsome things that belong to peace. I hope that you will bear me out in saying that I have proved that I am a partisan of peace. I would be ashamed to be belligerent and impatient when the fortunes of my whole country and the happiness of all my fellow countrymen were involved. But I know that peace is not always within the choice of the Nation, and I want to remind you, and remind you very solemnly, of the double obligation you have laid upon me. I know you have laid it upon me because I am constantly re-

minded of it in conversation, by letter, in editorial, by means of every voice that comes to me out of the body of the Nation. You have laid upon me this double obligation: "We are relying upon you, Mr. President, to keep us out of this war, but we are relying upon you, Mr. President, to keep the honor of the Nation unstained."

Do you not see that a time may come when it is impossible to do both of these things? Do you not see that if I am to guard the honor of the Nation, I am not protecting it against itself, for we are not going to do anything to stain the honor of our own country. I am protecting it against things that I cannot control, the action of others. And where the action of others may bring us I cannot foretell. You may count upon my heart and resolution to keep you out of the war, but you must be ready if it is necessary that I should maintain your honor. That is the only thing a real man loves about himself. Some men who are not real men love other things about themselves, but the real man believes that his honor is dearer than his life; and a nation is merely all of us put together, and the Nation's honor is dearer than the Nation's comfort and the Nation's peace and the Nation's life itself. So that we must know what we have thrown into the balance; we must know the infinite issues which are impending every day of the year, and when we go to bed at night and when we rise in the morning, and at every interval of the rush of business, we must remind ourselves that we are part of a great body politic in which are vested some of the highest hopes of the human race.

Why is it that all nations turn to us with the instinctive feeling that if anything touches humanity it touches us? Because it knows that ever since we were born as a Nation we have undertaken to be the champions of humanity and of the rights of men. Without that ideal there would be nothing that would distinguish America from her predecessors in the history of nations. Why

is it that men who loved liberty have crowded to these shores? Why is it that we greet them as they enter the great harbor at New York with that majestic Statue of Liberty holding up a torch whose visionary beams are meant to spread abroad over the waters of the world, and to say to all men, "Come to America where mankind is free and where we love all the works of righteousness and of peace."

Auditorium, Milwaukee, January 31, 1916.

I NEED not inquire whether the citizens of Milwaukee and Wisconsin are interested in the subject of my errand. The presence of this great body in this vast hall sufficiently attests your interest, but I want at the outset to remove a misapprehension that I fear may exist in your mind. There is no sudden crisis; nothing new has happened; I am not out upon this errand because of any unexpected situation. I have come to confer with you upon a matter upon which it would, in any circumstances, be necessary for us to confer when all the rest of the world is on fire and our own house is not fireproof. Everywhere the atmosphere of the world is thrilling with the passion of a disturbance such as the world has never seen before, and it is wise, in the words just uttered by your chairman, that we should see that our own house is set in order and that everything is done to make certain that we shall not suffer by the general conflagration.

There were some dangers to which this Nation seemed at the outset of the war to be exposed, which, I think I can say with confidence, are now passed and overcome. America has drawn her blood and her strength out of almost all the nations of the world. It is true of a great many of us that there lies deep in our hearts the recollection of an origin which is not American. We are aware that our roots, our tradi-

tions, run back into other national soils. There are songs that stir us; there are some far-away historical recollections which engage our affections and stir our memories. We can not forget our forbears; we can not altogether ignore the fact of our essential blood relationship; and at the outset of this war it did look as if there were a division of domestic sentiment which might lead us to some errors of judgment and some errors of action; but I, for one, believe that that danger is passed. I never doubted that the danger was exaggerated, because I had learned long ago, and many of you will corroborate me by your experience, that it is not the men who are doing the talking always who represent the real sentiments of the Nation. I for my part always feel a serene confidence in waiting for the declaration of the principles and sentiments of the men who are not vociferous, do not go about seeking to make trouble, do their own thinking, attend to their own business, and love their own country.

I have at no time supposed that the men whose voices seemed to contain the threat of division amongst us were really uttering the sentiments even of those whom they pretended to represent. I for my part have no jealousy of family sentiment. I have no jealousy of that deep affection which runs back through long lineage. It would be a pity if we forget the fine things that our ancestors have done. But I also know the magic of America; I also know the great principles which thrill men in the singular body politic to which we belong in the United States. I know the impulses which have drawn men to our shores. They have not come idly; they have not come without conscious purpose to be free; they have not come without voluntary desire to unite themselves with the great nation on this side of the sea; and I know that whenever the test comes every man's heart will be first for America. It was principle and affection and ambition and hope that drew men to these shores, and they are not going to forget the er-

rand upon which they came and allow America, the home of their refuge and hope, to suffer by any forgetfulness on their part. And so the trouble makers have shot their bolt, and it has been ineffectual. Some of them have been vociferous; all of them have been exceedingly irresponsible. Talk was cheap, and that was all it cost them. They did not have to do anything. But you will know without my telling you that the man who for the time being you have charged with the duties of President of the United States must talk with a deep sense of responsibility, and he must remember, above all things else, the fine traditions of his office which some men seem to have forgotten. There is no precedent in American history for any action of aggression on the part of the United States or for any action which might mean that America is seeking to connect herself with the controversies on the other side of the water. Men who seek to provoke us to such action have forgotten the traditions of the United States, but it behooves those with whom you have entrusted office to remember the traditions of the United States and to see to it that the actions of the Government are made to square with those traditions.

But there are other dangers, my fellow citizens, which are not past and which have not been overcome, and they are dangers which we can not control. We can control irresponsible talkers amidst ourselves. All we have got to do is to encourage them to hire a hall and their folly will be abundantly advertised by themselves. But we can not in this simple fashion control the dangers that surround us now and have surrounded us since this titanic struggle on the other side of the water began. I say on the other side of the water; you will ask me, "On the other side of which water," for this great struggle has extended to all quarters of the globe. There is no continent outside, I was about to say, of this Western Hemisphere which is not touched with it, but I recollected as I began the sentence that a part of

our own continent was touched with it, because it involves our neighbors to the north in Canada. There is no part of the world, except South America, to which the direct influences of this struggle have not extended, so that now we are completely surrounded by this tremendous disturbance and you must realize what that involves.

Our thoughts are concentrated upon our own affairs and our own relations to the rest of the world, but the thoughts of the men who are engaged in this struggle are concentrated upon the struggle itself, and there is daily and hourly danger that they will feel themselves constrained to do things which are absolutely inconsistent with the rights of the United States. They are not thinking of us. I am not criticizing them for not thinking of us. I dare say if I were in their place neither would I think of us. They believe that they are struggling for the lives and honor of their nations, and that if the United States puts its interests in the path of this great struggle, she ought to know beforehand that there is danger of very serious misunderstanding and difficulty. So that the very uncalculating, unpremeditated, one might almost say accidental, course of affairs may touch us to the quick at any moment, and I want you to realize that, standing in the midst of these difficulties, I feel that I am charged with a double duty of the utmost difficulty. In the first place, I know that you are depending upon me to keep this Nation out of the war. So far I have done so, and I pledge you my word that, God helping me, I will if it is possible. But you have laid another duty upon me. You have bidden me see to it that nothing stains or impairs the honor of the United States, and that is a matter not within my control; that depends upon what others do, not upon what the Government of the United States does. Therefore there may at any moment come a time when I can not preserve both the honor and the peace of the United States. Do not exact of me an impossible

and contradictory thing, but stand ready and insistent that everybody who represents you should stand ready to provide the necessary means for maintaining the honor of the United States.

I sometimes think that it is true that no people ever went to war with another people. Governments have gone to war with one another. Peoples, so far as I remember, have not, and this is a government of the people, and this people is not going to choose war. But we are not dealing with people; we are dealing with Governments. We are dealing with Governments now engaged in a great struggle, and therefore we do not know what a day or an hour will bring forth. All that we know is the character of our own duty. We do not want the question of peace and war, or the conduct of war, entrusted too entirely to our Government. We want war, if it must come, to be something that springs out of the sentiments and principles and actions of the people themselves; and it is on that account that I am counseling the Congress of the United States not to take the advice of those who recommend that we should have, and have very soon, a great standing Army, but, on the contrary, to see to it that the citizens of this country are so trained and that the military equipment is so sufficiently provided for them that when they choose they can take up arms and defend themselves.

The Constitution of the United States makes the President the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the Nation, but I do not want a big Army subject to my personal command. If danger comes, I want to turn to you and the rest of my fellow countrymen and say, "Men, are you ready?" and I know what the response will be. I know that there will spring up out of the body of the Nation a great host of free men, and I want those men not to be mere targets for shot and shell. I want them to know something of the arms they have in their hands. I want them to know something

about how to guard against the diseases that creep into camps, where men are unaccustomed to live. I want them to know something of what the orders mean that they will be under when they enlist under arms for the Government of the United States. I want them to be men who can comprehend and easily and intelligently step into the duty of national defense. That is the reason that I am urging upon the Congress of the United States at any rate the beginnings of a system by which we may give a very considerable body of our fellow citizens the necessary training.

I have not forgotten the great National Guard of this country, but in this country of one hundred million people there are only 129,000 men in the National Guard; and the National Guard, fine as it is, is not subject to the orders of the President of the United States. It is subject to the orders of the governors of the several States, and the Constitution itself says that the President has no right to withdraw them from their States even, except in the case of actual invasion of the soil of the United States. I want the Congress of the United States to do a great deal for the National Guard, but I do not see how the Congress of the United States can put the National Guard at the disposal of the national authorities. Therefore it seems to me absolutely necessary that in addition to the National Guard there should be a considerable body of men with some training in the military art who will have pledged themselves to come at the call of the Nation.

I have been told by those who have a greater knack at guessing statistics than I have that there are probably several million men in the United States who, either in this country or in other countries from which they have come to the United States, have received training in arms. It may be; I do not know, and I suspect that they do not either, but even if it be true, these men are not subject to the call of the Federal Government. They would have to be found; they would have to be

induced to enlist; they would have to be organized; their numbers are indefinite; and they would have to be equipped. Such are not the materials which we need. We want to know who these men are and where they are and to have everything ready for them if they should come to our assistance. For we have now got down, not to the sentiment of national defense, but to the business of national defense. It is a business proposition and it must be treated as such. And there are abundant precedents for the proposals which have been made to the Congress. Even that arch-Democrat, Thomas Jefferson, believed that there ought to be compulsory military training for the adult men of the Nation, because he believed, as every true believer in democracy believes, that it is upon the voluntary action of the men of a great Nation like this that it must depend for its military force.

There is another misapprehension that I want to remove from your minds: Do you think that I have come to talk to you about these things because I doubt whether they are going to be done or not? I do not doubt it for a moment, but I believe that when great things of this sort are going to be done the people of this country are entitled to know just what is being proposed. As a friend of mine says, I am not arguing with you; I am telling you. I am not trying to convert you to anything, because I know that in your hearts you are converted already, but I want you to know the motives of what is proposed and the character of what is proposed, in order that we should have only one attitude and counsel with regard to this great matter.

It is being very sedulously spread abroad in this country that the impulse back of all this is the desire of men who make the materials of warfare to get money out of the Treasury of the United States. I wish the people that say that could see meetings like this. Did you come here for that purpose? Did you come here because you are interested to see some of your fellow citizens make

money out of the present situation? Of course you did not. I am ready to admit that probably the equipment of those men whom we are training will have to be bought from somebody, and I know that if the equipment is bought, it will have to be paid for; and I dare say somebody will make some money out of it. It is also true, ladies and gentlemen, that there are men now, a great many men, in the belligerent countries who are growing rich out of the sale of the materials needed by the armies of those countries. If the Government itself does not manufacture everything that an army needs, somebody has got to make money out of it, and I for my part have been urging the Congress of the United States to make the necessary preparations by which the Government can manufacture armor plate and munitions, so that, being in the business itself and having the ability to manufacture all it needs, if it is put upon a business basis, it can at any rate keep the price that it pays within moderate and reasonable limits. The Government of the United States is not going to be imposed upon by anybody, and you may rest assured, therefore, that while I believe you prefer that private capital and private initiative should bestir themselves in these matters, it is also possible, and I assure you that it is most likely, that the Government of the United States will have adequate means of controlling this matter very thoroughly indeed. There need be no fear on that side. Let nobody suppose that this is a money-making agitation. I would for one be ashamed to be such a dupe as to be engaged in it if it had any suspicion of that about it, but I am not as innocent as I look and I believe that I can say for my colleagues in Washington that they are just as watchful in such matters as you would desire them to be.

And there is another misapprehension that I do not wish you to entertain. Do not suppose that there is any new or sudden or recent inadequacy on the part of this Government in respect of preparation for national de-

fense. I have heard some gentlemen say that we had no coast defenses worth talking about. Coast defenses are not nowadays advertised, you understand, and they are not visible to the naked eye, so that if you passed them and nothing exploded, you would not know they were there. The coast defenses of the United States, while not numerous enough, are equipped in the most modern and efficient fashion. You are told that there has been some sort of neglect about the Navy. There has not been any sort of neglect about the Navy. We have been slowly building up a Navy which in quality is second to no navy in the world. The only thing it lacks is quantity. In size it is the fourth navy in the world, though I have heard it said by some gentlemen in this very region that it was the second. In fighting force, though not in quality, it is reckoned by experts to be the fourth in rank in the world; and yet when I go on board those ships and see their equipment and talk with their officers I suspect that they could give an account of themselves which would raise them above the fourth class. It reminds me of that very quaint saying of the old darky preacher, "The Lord says unto Moses, come fourth, and he came fifth and lost the race." But I think this Navy would not come fourth in the race, but higher.

What we are proposing now is not the sudden creation of a Navy, for we have a splendid Navy, but the definite working out of a program by which within five years we shall bring the Navy to a fighting strength which otherwise might have taken eight or ten years; along exactly the same lines of development that have been followed and followed diligently and intelligently for at least a decade past. There is no sudden panic, there is no sudden change of plan; all that has happened is that we now see that we ought more rapidly and more thoroughly than ever before to do the things which have always been characteristic of America. For she has always been proud of her Navy and has always been

addicted to the principle that her citizenship must do the fighting on land. We are working out American principle a little faster, because American pulses are beating a little faster, because the world is in a whirl, because there are incalculable elements of trouble abroad which we cannot control or alter. I would be derelict to the duty which you have laid upon me if I did not tell you that it was absolutely necessary to carry out our principles in this matter now and at once.

And yet all the time, my fellow citizens, I believe that in these things we are merely interpreting the spirit of America. Who shall say what the spirit of America is? I have many times heard orators apostrophize this beautiful flag which is the emblem of the Nation. I have many times heard orators and philosophers speak of the spirit which was resident in America. I have always for my own part felt that it was an act of audacity to attempt to characterize anything of that kind, and when I have been outside of the country in foreign lands and have been asked if this, that, or the other was true of America I have habitually said, "Nothing stated in general terms is true of America, because it is the most variegated and varied and multiform land under the sun." Yet I know that if you turn away from the physical aspects of the country, if you turn away from the variety of the strains of blood that make up our great population, if you turn away from the great variations of occupation and of interest among our fellow citizens, there is a spiritual unity in America. I know that there are some things which stir every heart in America, no matter what the racial derivation or the local environment, and one of the things that stirs every American is the love of individual liberty. We do not stand for occupations. We do not stand for material interests. We do not stand for any narrow conception even of political institutions; but we do stand for this, that we are banded together in America to see to it that no man shall serve any master who is not

of his own choosing. And we have been very liberal and generous about this idea. We have seen great peoples, for the most part not of the same blood with ourselves, to the south of us build up polities in which this same idea pulsed and was regnant, this idea of free institutions and individual liberty, and when we have seen hands reached across the water from older political polities to interfere with the development of free institutions on the Western Hemisphere we have said: "No; we are the champions of the freedom of popular sovereignty wherever it displays or exercises itself throughout both Americas." We are the champions of a particular sort of freedom, the sort of freedom which is the only foundation and guarantee of peace.

Peace lies in the hearts of great industrial and agricultural populations, and we have arranged a government on this side of the water by which their preferences and their predilections and their interests are the mainsprings of government itself. And so when we prepare for national defense we prepare for national political integrity; we prepare to take care of the great ideals which gave birth to this Government; we are going back in spirit and in energy to those great first generations in America, when men banded themselves together, though they were but a handful upon a single coast of the Atlantic, to set up in the world the standards which have ever since floated everywhere that Americans asserted the power of their Government. As I came along the line of the railway today, I was touched to observe that everywhere, upon every railway station, upon every house, where a flag could be procured, some temporary standard had been raised from which there floated the stars and stripes. They seemed to have divined the errand upon which I had come, to remind you that we must subordinate every individual interest and every local interest to assert once more, if it should be necessary to assert them, the great principles for which that flag stands.

Do not deceive yourselves, ladies and gentlemen, as to where the colors of that flag came from. Those lines of red are lines of blood, nobly and unselfishly shed by men who loved the liberty of their fellow men more than they loved their own lives and fortunes. God forbid that we should have to use the blood of America to freshen the color of that flag; but if it should ever be necessary again to assert the majesty and integrity of those ancient and honorable principles, that flag will be colored once more, and in being colored will be glorified and purified.

Auditorium, Chicago, January 31, 1916.

YOU put me under a great obligation to you by the generosity of your reception, and I am quite aware that it is largely because you know how desirous I am to speak to you with the utmost frankness upon some of the most essential issues of our national life. The Constitution of the United States explicitly lays upon the President the duty of reporting at the beginning of each annual session of Congress to the representatives of the people concerning the state of the Union, and it seems to me that it is a very natural inference from that command that the President should from time to time, when unusual circumstances arise, make his report, so far as it is possible for him to do so, directly to the people themselves. It is with that conception in view that I have taken the liberty of coming to you to-night. I have not permitted myself the privilege of leaving my duties at Washington very often, because they have been very exacting and very anxious duties, and there is a very clear sense in which it is my duty to be constantly there and constantly watchful of the changing circumstances of the day; but I thought you would feel me justified in the unusual circumstances

of the time if I left my duties there for a little while and came to explain a few matters to you.

A year ago, though the war in Europe had then been six months in progress, I take it it would have seemed incredible to all of us that the storm should continue to gather in intensity instead of spending its force. I suppose that twelve months ago no one could have predicted the extraordinary way in which the violence of the struggle has increased from month to month; and the difficulties involved by reason of that war have also increased beyond all calculation. A year ago it did seem as if America might rest secure without very great anxiety and take it for granted that she would not be drawn into this terrible maelstrom, but those first six months was merely the beginning of the struggle. Another year has been added, and now no man can confidently say whether the United States will be drawn into the struggle or not. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that we should take counsel together as to what it is necessary that we should do. The circumstances of the day are so extraordinary that perhaps it is not prudent for a man upon whom the responsibility of affairs is laid to know too particularly the details of what is happening. The trouble with a great many of our fellow citizens is that they have let their imaginations become so engaged in this terrible affair that they cannot look upon it as those should who wish to keep a cool head and a detached judgment. So many men on this side of the water are seeing red that we seem to see in their thoughts the reflection of the blood that is being spent so copiously on the other side of the sea. It is not wise for us to let our thoughts become so deeply involved that we cannot think separately and must think with a sort of personal immersion in this great struggle.

I must admit to you very frankly that I have been careful to refrain from reading the details in the newspaper reports. I wish to see the thing and realize it

only in its large aspects and to keep my thoughts concentrated on America, her duty, her circumstances, her tasks. And her tasks have been very difficult. They have not been merely negative. Have you not realized how all the world seems to have been constantly conscious from the beginning of this struggle that America was, so to say, the only audience before whom this terrible plot was being worked out; how everybody engaged in the struggle has seemed to turn to America for moral judgments concerning it; how each side of the titanic struggle has appealed to us to adjudge their enemies in the wrong; how there has been no tragical turn in the course of events that America has not been called on for some sort of protest or expression of opinion? And so those of us who are charged with the responsibility of affairs have realized very intensely that there was a certain sense in which America was looked to to keep even the balance of the whole world thought.

And America was called upon to do something very much more than that, even; profoundly difficult, if not impossible, though that be, she was called upon to assert in times of war the standards of times of peace. There is an old saying that the laws are silent in the presence of war. Alas, yes; not only the civil laws of individual nations but also apparently the law that governs the relation of nations with one another must at times fall silent and look on in dumb impotency. And yet it has been assumed throughout this struggle that the great principles of international law and of international comity had not been suspended, and the United States, as the greatest and most powerful of the disengaged nations, has been looked to to hold high the standards which should govern the relationship of nations to each other.

I know that on the other side of the water there has been a great deal of cruel misjudgment with regard to the reasons why America has remained neutral. Those

who look at us at a distance, my fellow citizens, do not feel the strong pulses of ideal principle that are in us. They do not feel the conviction of America, that her mission is a mission of peace, and that righteousness can be maintained as a standard in the midst of arms. They do not realize that back of all our energy by which we have built up great material wealth and created great material power we are a body of idealists, much more ready to lay down our lives for a thought than for a dollar. They suppose, some of them, that we are holding off because we can make money while others are dying, the most cruel misunderstanding that any nation has ever had to face; so wrong that it seems almost useless to try to correct it, because it shows that the very fundamentals of our life are not comprehended and understood.

I need not tell you, my fellow citizens, that we have not held off from this struggle from motives of self-interest, unless it be considered self-interest to maintain our position as the trustees of the moral judgment of the world. We have believed, and I believe, that we can serve even the nations at war better by remaining at peace and holding off from this contest than we could possibly serve them in any other way. Your interest, your sympathy, your affections may be engaged on the one side or the other, but no matter which side they are engaged on it is your duty even to your affections in this great affair to stand off and not let this Nation be drawn into the war. Somebody must keep the great stable foundations of the life of nations untouched and undisturbed. Somebody must keep the great economic processes of the world of business alive. Somebody must see to it that we stand ready to repair the enormous damage and the incalculable losses which will ensue from this war, and which it is hardly credible could be repaired if every great nation in the world were drawn into the contest. Do you realize how nearly it has come about that every great nation in the world has been

drawn in? The flame has touched even our own continent by drawing in our Canadian neighbors to the north of us, and, except for the South American Continent, there is not one continent upon the whole surface of the world to which this flame has not spread; and when I see some of my fellow citizens spread tinder where the sparks are falling, I wonder what their ideal of Americanism is.

I dare say you realize, therefore, the solemnity of the feeling with which I come to audiences of my fellow citizens at this time. I can not indulge the reckless pleasure of expressing my own private opinions and prejudices. I speak as the trustee of the Nation, called upon to speak its sober judgments and not its individual opinions; and it is with the feeling of this responsibility upon me that I have come to you to-night and have approached the other audiences that I have had the privilege of addressing upon this journey. Do you realize the peculiar difficulty of the situation in which your Executive is placed? You have laid upon me, not by implication, but explicitly—it has come to me by means of every voice that has been vocal in the Nation—you have laid upon me the double obligation of maintaining the honor of the United States and of maintaining the peace of the United States. Is it not conceivable that the two might become incompatible? Is it not conceivable that, however great our passion for peace, we would have to subordinate it to our passion for what is right? Is it not possible that in maintaining the integrity of the character of the United States it may become necessary to see that no man does that integrity too great violence?

It is a very terrible thing, ladies and gentlemen, to have the honor of the United States intrusted to your keeping. It is a great honor, that honor of the United States! In it runs the blood of generations of men who have built up ideals and institutions on this side of the water intended to regenerate mankind, and any man

who does violence to right, any nation that does violence to the principles of just international understandings, is doing violence to the ideals of the United States. We observe the technical limits; we assert these rights only when our own citizens are directly affected, but you know that our feeling is just the same whether the rights of those individual citizens are affected or not, and that we feel all the concern of those who have built up things so great that they dare not let them be torn down or touched with profane hands.

Look at the task that is assigned to the United States, to assert the principles of law in a world in which the principles of law have broken down—not the technical principles of law, but the essential principles of right dealing and humanity as between nation and nation. Law is a very complicated term. It includes a great many things that do not engage our affections, but at the basis of the things that we are now dealing with lie the deepest affections of the human heart, the love of life, the love of righteousness, the love of fair dealing, the love of those things that are just and of good report. The things that are rooted in our very spirit are the stuff of the law that I am talking about now.

We may have to assert these principles of right and of humanity at any time. What means are available? What force is at the disposal of the United States to assert these things? The force of opinion? Opinion, I am sorry to say, my fellow citizens, did not bring this war on, and I am afraid that opinion can not stay its progress. This war was brought on by rulers, not by the people; and I thank God that there is no man in America who has the authority to bring war on without the consent of the people. No man for many a year yet can trace the real sources of this war, but this thing we know, that opinion did not bring it on and that the force of opinion, at any rate the force of American opinion, is not going to stop it.

I admire the hopeful confidence of those of our fellow

citizens who believe that American opinion can stop it, but, being somewhat older than some of them, and having run through a rather wide gamut of experience, I am prevented from sharing their hopeful optimism. I would not belittle the influences of opinion, least of all the influences of American opinion—it is very influential—but it will not stop this overwhelming flood. And, if not the force of opinion, what force has America available to stop the flood from overflowing her own fair area?

We have one considerable arm of force, a very considerable arm of force, namely, the splendid Navy of the United States. I am told by the experts, to whose judgment I must defer in these matters, that the Navy of the United States, in respect of its enumerated force, ranks only fourth among the navies of the world. I indulge myself in the opinion that in quality it ranks very much higher than fourth place. The United States has never been negligent of its Navy, despite what some gentlemen may say; least of all has it been negligent in recent years. Three years ago there were 182 vessels in commission in that Navy; there are now 238. Three dreadnoughts and fifteen subordinate craft will be added within a month or two. There have been added six thousand capable sailors to the ranks of the enlisted men of that Navy. The Congress of the United States in the last three years has poured out more money than was poured out on the average in any previous years in the history of the United States for the maintenance and upbuilding of the United States Navy; has spent forty-four million dollars a year as contrasted with a previous average of not more than thirty-three and a half million. All the subsidiary arms of the service have been built up. Three years ago there were four officers assigned the duty connected with aviation, and they did not have a single available—at any rate usable—craft at their service; now there are thirty-seven airships, 121 commissioned officers, and a large number of non-

commissioned officers and a sufficient force of enlisted men in the school of practice at Pensacola; and that is only the beginning, because the Sixty-third Congress, the last Congress, was the first to make a specific appropriation for aviation in connection with the Navy.

We have given to the present fleet of the United States an organization such as it never had before, I am told by Admiral Fletcher, and we have made preparations for immediate war, so far as the Navy is concerned. The trouble is not with the quality or the organization of the existing Navy; it is merely that we have followed plans piecemeal, a little bit at a time, now in this direction, now in that direction; that we have never had a plan thought out to cover a number of years in advance; that we have never set ourselves a definite goal of equipment and set our resolution to attain that goal within a reasonable length of time. The plans that are being proposed to the present Congress, and which the present Congress will adopt, are plans to remedy this piecemeal treatment of the Navy and bring it to its highest point of efficiency by steady plans carried out from month to month and year to year. It is going to cost a good deal of money, and I find that the difficulty with some Members of Congress is, not what ought to be done about the Navy, but what they are going to tax in order to get the money. I do not happen to be a Member of Congress but I would be willing to go before any constituency in the United States in the confidence that they were willing to pay for the defense of the Nation. We are neither poor nor niggardly. We know how things cost and we intend to pay for them; and we do not intend to pay for them more than they are worth.

That is a matter which is troubling a good many people. I have proposed to the Congress that for one thing we at once build our own armor plant, not for the purpose of making all the armor that our ships need, unless that should become necessary, but for the

purpose of keeping the price within sight. I have proposed to the Congress that we prepare to manufacture also the munitions which the Government may need—for the same purpose—not to drive other people out of business, but merely to serve other people with notice that if necessary we will manufacture all the munitions we need. We have had some experience in this matter. The Navy now makes a very large proportion of its own powder. Before it began, it paid 53 cents a pound for it, and now it pays 36 cents. That shows the very interesting effect of Government competition upon the price. So all along the line we mean business, and we are going to see that business characterizes the processes of national defense. We would not be Americans if we did not.

But what Army have we available? I can tell you, because it has been necessary for us to take care of the patrolling of a very long southern border between us and Mexico. We have not men enough in the United States Army for the routine work of peace, and the increase in the Regular Army that is being proposed to the present Congress is intended only to bring the Regular Army up to an adequate peace establishment. I say that that is all that is being proposed with regard to the Regular Army. The United States has never, my fellow citizens, depended upon the Regular Army to conduct its wars. It has depended upon the Volunteers of the United States, and it has never been disappointed either in their numbers or in their quality. But modern warfare is very different from what warfare used to be. Warfare has changed so within the span of a single life that it is nothing less than brutal to send raw recruits into the trenches and into the field. I am told by gentlemen who are very much more expert in knowing things that nobody else knows than I am that there are probably several million men in this country who have been trained to arms either in this country or in the country of their nativity. It may be, but who has a list of

them? Where are they? What law lays upon them the duty of coming into the ranks of the armed forces of the United States if it should be necessary to call for volunteers? How are they organized? Who can reach them? There might be several million men with that training, but if they would not come upon the call they would be of no immediate use to the United States.

What we wish is a definite citizen reserve of men trained to arms to a sufficient extent to make them quickly transformable into a fighting force, organized under the immediate direction of the United States, subject to a definite pledge to serve the United States, and pledged to obey immediately the call of the President when Congress authorizes him to call them to arms. We do not want men to devote the greater part of their time to training in arms. We want men whose occupation and passion and habit is peace, because they are the only men who can carry into the field the spirit of America as contrasted with the spirit of the professional soldier. I would not have you for a moment understand me as detracting from the character and reputation of the professional soldier as we know him in the United States. I have dealt with him; he is as good an American as I am. He has a degree of intelligence and of devotion to his duty which commands my entire admiration. But the spirit of every profession is different from the spirit of the community. I would not trust any particular business to any particular profession exclusively if it were the public business, because every profession that I know anything about has its special point of view. But when a man has to defend his country outside the circle of the things that he ordinarily does, he has, I believe, the spirit of his country in a degree that he would not have it if he were merely performing a professional duty.

Have you looked at the most valued souvenir of families in America? Have you never seen a rusty sword treasured from the days of the Revolution or from the

days of the Civil War? Have you never seen an old-fashioned musket hung up in some conspicuous place of honor? Did you ever see a spade hung up, or a pick hung up, or a yardstick hung up, or a ledger hung up? Did you ever see in such place of honor any symbol of the ordinary occupations of peace? Why? Because America loves war and honors it more than she loves peace? Certainly not! But because America honors utter self-sacrifice more than she honors anything else. It is no self-sacrifice to earn your daily bread; it is a necessity—a necessity which, if you accomplish it with success, you are deserving of all praise. But it is not self-sacrifice. It is no self-sacrifice to work for yourself and the people you love. The self-sacrifice comes when you are ready to forget yourself, forget your loved ones, forget everything, even your love of life itself, to serve an invisible master, the great spirit of America herself. We dread war, we condemn war in America. We love peace. But we know that the lads who carried those swords and those muskets loved something more even than they loved peace—that they loved honor and the integrity of the Nation.

And so, ladies and gentlemen, we have to prepare ourselves not to be unfair to the men who are going to make this self-sacrifice should the terrible necessity arise for them to make it. We ought to make sure that we are not responsible for leaving them unprepared in knowledge and in training, and we ought to make it the pride of America that great bodies of men greater than the Government calls for are ready to prepare themselves for the day of exigency and the day of sacrifice. Every lad that did this would feel better for it. Every lad that obeyed his officers in the process of training would feel that he was obeying something greater than the officer, that he was obeying the instinct of patriotic service, and clothing himself with a new nobility by reason of the process.

I have been asked by questioning friends in Washing-

ton whether I thought a sufficient number of men would volunteer for the training or not. Why, if they did not, it is not the America that you and I know; something has happened. They have said, "Do you suppose that the men who employ young men would give them leave to take this training?" I say, "Certainly I suppose it; I know it." Because I know that the patriotism of America is not a name and an empty boast, but a splendid reality. If they did not do it, I should be ashamed of America, and I never expect to see the day when America gives me the slightest reason to be ashamed of her. I am sorry for the skeptics who believe that the response would not be tremendous; not grudging, but overflowing in its abundant strength. And it is to prove that that we want to try the plans that are before the present Congress.

You will remind me of the great National Guard of the country; but how great is it, ladies and gentlemen? There are one hundred million people in this country and there are only 129,000 men in the National Guard, and those 129,000 men are under the direction, by the constitutional arrangement of our system, of the governments of more than two score States. The President of the United States is not at liberty to call them out of their States except upon the occasion of actual invasion of the territory of the United States. We are not now thinking of invasion of the territory of the United States. That is not what is making us anxious. We are not asking ourselves, "Shall we be prepared to defend our own shores and our own homes?" Is that all that we stand for, to keep the door securely shut against enemies? Certainly not. What of the great trusteeship we have set up for liberty of government and national independence in the whole Western Hemisphere? What of the pledges back of that great principle that has been ours and guided our foreign affairs ever since the day of President Monroe? We stand pledged to see that both the continents of America are

left free to be used by their people as those peoples choose to use them, under a principle of national popular sovereignty as absolute and unchallenged as our own. And at this very moment, as I am speaking to you, the Americas are drawing together upon that handsome principle of reciprocal respect and reciprocal defense.

When I speak of preparation for national defense I am speaking of something intangible and visionary; I am looking at a vision of the mind. America has never seen its destiny with the physical eye. The destiny of America lies written in the lines of poets, in the characters of self-sacrificing soldiers, in the conceptions and ambitions of her greatest statesmen; lies written in the teachings of her school rooms, in all those ideals of service of humanity and of liberty for the individual which are to be found written in the very schoolbooks of the boys and girls whom we send to be taught to be Americans. The destiny of America is an ideal destiny. America has no reason for being unless her destiny and her duty be ideal. It is her incumbent privilege to declare and stand for the rights of men. Nothing less is worth fighting for, nothing less is worth sacrificing for. The men and women of the American Colonies were physically comfortable. Even the much complained of arrangements of trade in those days were not unfair in the sense that they did not bring prosperity. America was offended and restless under the mere suggestion that she was not allowed to get her prosperity in her own way and under the guidance of her own spirit and purpose, and the American Revolution was fought for an ideal. We would have been as prosperous under the British Crown, but we should not have been as happy and we should not have respected ourselves as much.

Therefore, what America is bound to fight for when the time comes is nothing more nor less than her self-respect. There is no immediate prospect that her mate-

rial interests may be seriously affected, but there is constant danger, every day of the week, that her spiritual interests may suffer serious affront, and it is in order that they may be safeguarded, in order that America may show that the old conceptions of liberty are ready to translate themselves in her hands into conceptions and manifestations of power at any time that it is necessary so to transform them, that we must make ourselves ready. You have not sent your representatives to Washington, ladies and gentlemen, to represent your business merely, to represent your ideals of material life. You have sent them there to represent you in your character as a Nation, and it is only from that point of view that they counsel you; it is only upon that footing that they can appeal to you. I feel this so profoundly that I want to add this: I did not come away from Washington because I had the least misgiving as to what the United States was going to do. You must not get impatient because there are long processes of debate at Washington. Wait for the end of the debate. The things that are necessary to be done are going to be done and thoroughly done. I for my part would be sorry for the man who did not take part in doing them if he had to stand up and give the reasons why, and I hope that every man who does not consent to do them will be made to stand up and give the reasons why. But it is empty to say that, because there is no danger; the things are going to be done. I came merely in order that you might understand the spirit in which they are proposed, and also receive from my lips the assurance of the absolute necessity that they should be done thoroughly and done very soon. For if they are not done and thoroughly done and done very soon it may turn out that you have laid upon me an impossible task, and that I should have to suffer the mortification and you the disappointment of having the combination of peace with honor prove to be impossible.

It is not a happy circumstance to have these moments

of national necessity arise, and yet I for my part am not sorry that this necessity has arisen. It has awakened me, myself, I frankly confess to you, to many things and many conditions which a year ago I did not realize. I did not realize then that the things were possible which have since become actual facts. I am glad that I know better than I knew then exactly the sort of world we are living in. I would be ashamed of my intelligence if I did not understand the significance of indubitable facts. And it may be that large bodies of our fellow citizens were resting in a false security, based upon an imaginary correspondence of all the world with the conceptions under which they were themselves conducting their own lives. It is probably a fortunate circumstance, therefore, that America has been cried awake by these voices in the disturbed and reddened night, when fire sweeps sullenly from continent to continent, and it may be that in this red flame of light there will rise again that ideal figure of America holding up her hand of hope and of guidance to the people of the world and saying, "I stand ready to counsel and to help; I stand ready to assert whenever the flame is quenched those infinite principles of rectitude and peace which alone can bring happiness and liberty to mankind."

Des Moines, February 1, 1916.

I AM greatly cheered, as well as greatly honored, by the sight of this great audience. I have been very much impressed by being told that you have been waiting here patiently for more than two hours for the exercises of the evening, and I think I know, I hope I know, what that means. It is not only that in your gracious courtesy you have waited to greet the President of the United States, but that, knowing the errand upon which he has come, you are profoundly interested, as he is, in the candid discussion of some of the chief

things which concern the welfare and the safety of the Nation.

Some one who does not know our fellow citizens quite as well as he ought to know them told me that there was a certain degree of indifference and lethargy in the Middle West with regard to the defense of the Nation. I said, "I do not believe it, but I am going out to see"; and I have seen. I have seen what I expected to see—great bodies of serious men, great bodies of earnest women, coming together to show their profound interest in the objects of this visit of mine. I know, therefore, that it is my privilege to address those who will realize the spirit of responsibility in which I speak to them.

My fellow citizens, it would be easy, if I permitted myself to do so, to draw a picture of the present situation of the world which would deeply stir your feelings and perhaps deeply excite your apprehensions, but you would not think that it was right for your Chief Magistrate to speak any word of excitement whatever. I want you to believe that in what I say to you I am endeavoring as far as extemporaneous speech will permit to weigh every word that I say. I said a moment ago that you know the errand upon which I have come to you, but do you know the reasons why I have undertaken that errand? There are some very conclusive and imperative reasons. Some of our fellow citizens are seeking to darken counsel upon this great matter; not I hope and believe out of wrong motives, but certainly I believe out of mistaken conceptions of the duty and interest of America.

On the one hand there is a considerable body of men who are trying to stir the very sort of excitement in this country upon which every true, well-balanced American ought to frown. There are actually men in America who are preaching war, who are preaching the duty of the United States to do what it never would before—seek entanglement in the controversies which have arisen on the other side of the water—abandon

its habitual and traditional policy and deliberately engage in the conflict which is now engulfing the rest of the world. I do not know what the standards of citizenship of these gentlemen may be. I only know that I for one can not subscribe to those standards. I believe that I more truly speak the spirit of America when I say that that spirit is a spirit of peace. Why, no voice has ever come to any public man more audibly, more unmistakably, than the voice of this great people has come to me, bearing this impressive lesson, "We are counting upon you to keep this country out of war." And I call you to witness, my fellow countrymen, that I have spent every thought and energy that has been vouchsafed me in order to keep this country out of war. It can not be disclosed now, perhaps it can never be disclosed, how anxious and difficult that task has been, but my heart has been in it. I have not grudged a single burden that has been thrown upon me with that end in view, for I knew that not only my own heart, but the heart of all America, was in the cause of peace.

Yet, my fellow citizens, there are some men amongst us preaching peace who go much further than I can go. Not further than I can go in the sentiment of peace; not further than truth warrants them in going in interpreting the desire and sentiment of America, but further than I can follow them, further, I believe, than you can follow them, in preaching the doctrine of peace at any price and in any circumstances. There is a price which is too great to pay for peace, and that price can be put in one word. One can not pay the price of self-respect. One can not pay the price of duties abdicated, of glorious opportunities neglected, of character, national character left without vindication and exemplification in action. America has a character as distinct as the character of any individual amongst us. We read that character in every page of her singular and glorious history. It is written in invisible signs which, never-

theless, our spirits can decipher upon the very folds of the flag which is the emblem of our national life.

The gentlemen who are out-and-out pacifists are making one fundamental mistake. That is not a mistake about the sentiments of America, but a mistake about the circumstances of the world. America does not constitute the world. In many of her sentiments and predilections she does not represent or influence the world. The dangers to our peace do not come any longer from within our own borders. I could not have said that a few months ago. Passion was astir in this country. There was a clash of sympathies and a heat of passion which made our air tense and made men hold their breath for fear some of our fellow countrymen would forget that their first loyalty was to America and only their second loyalty to the ancient affections which bound them, and honorably bound them, to some older country and polity. But those dangers have passed. America has regained her self-possession. Men are now ready to feel and to act in common in the great cause of a common national life, and no influence within America is going to disturb the peace of America.

But America can not be an ostrich with its head in the sand. America can not shut itself out from the rest of the world, because all the dangers at this present moment, and they are many, come from her contacts with the rest of the world. Those contacts are going to be largely determined by other nations and not determined by ourselves. I have not come to tell you that there is any danger to our national life from anything that your Government may do or your Congress propose. I have come to tell you that there is danger to our national life from what other nations may do. And let me say, ladies and gentlemen, that I would not speak of other nations in a spirit of criticism. Not only would it not become me to do so, as your spokesman and representative, but I would not be interpreting my real feeling if I did so. Every nation now engaged in the

titanic struggle on the other side of the water believes, with an intensity of conviction that can not be exaggerated, that it is fighting for its rights, and in most instances that it is fighting for its life; and we must not be too critical of the men who lead those nations. If America's liberty were involved, if we thought that America's life was involved, would we criticize our leaders and public men because they went every length of even desperate endeavor to see that the Nation did not suffer and that the Nation did triumph? I have it not in my heart to criticize these men. But I want you to know the dangers that they are running, and that the dangers they are running are dangers which involve us also.

Look what it is that America is called on to do. I can tell you what America is called on to do, because there is hardly a day goes by that some bit of news does not bear to my office some kind of appeal. There is hardly a week goes by that some delegation does not come to the Executive Office in Washington bearing some kind of protest, some kind of request, some kind of urgent message, looking toward interference in the interest of peace. Why, I have talked with earnest men and women, not of our own citizenship, but come out of the body of these other great nations, who plead with me to put the moral force of the Government of the United States into one or other of the European scales, so as to see that this struggle was the sooner brought to a peaceful conclusion. America is looked upon to sit in a sort of moral judgment upon the processes of war. And the processes of what a war! The world, my fellow citizens, never witnessed a struggle like this before. Do you know that there is not a single continent except the continent of South America that has not been touched by the flame of this terrible conflagration? Do you know that there is not a single country in the world, not even excepting our own, into which the influences of this tremendous struggle have

not been thrust by way of political influence and effect? The whole world is tremulous with the influences of passion and of desperate struggle, and the only great disengaged nation is this Nation which we love and whose interests we should conserve.

What is America expected to do? She is expected to do nothing less than keep law alive while the rest of the world burns. You know that there is no international tribunal, my fellow citizens. I pray God that if this contest have no other result, it will at least have the result of creating an international tribune and producing some sort of joint guarantee of peace on the part of the great nations of the world. But it has not yet done that, and the only thing, therefore, that keeps America out of danger is that to some degree the understandings, the ancient and honorable understandings, of nations with regard to their relations to one another and to the citizens of one another are to some extent still observed and followed. And whenever there is a departure from them, the United States is called upon to intervene, to speak its voice of protest, to speak its voice of insistence.

Do you want it to be only a voice of insistence? Do you want the situation to be such that all that the President can do is to write messages; to utter words of protest? If these breaches of international law which are in daily danger of occurring should touch the very vital interests and honor of the United States, do you wish to do nothing about it? Do you wish to have all the world say that the flag of the United States, which we love, can be stained with impunity? Why, to ask the question is to answer it. I know that there is not a man or a woman in the hearing of my voice who would wish peace at the expense of the honor of the United States.

I said just now that an unmistakable voice had come to my ears from out the great body of the Nation, saying, "We depend upon you to keep us out of war"; but

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that same voice added always this sentence also, "But we depend upon you to maintain unsullied and unquestioned the honor and integrity of the United States"; and many a night when it has seemed impossible for me to sleep, because of the thought of the apparently inextricable difficulties into which our international relations were drifting, I have said to myself, "I wonder if the people of the United States fully realize what that mandate means to me?" And then sleep has come because I have known, as I have known in my own mind and in my own heart, that there was not a community in America that would not stand behind me in maintaining the honor of the United States.

My fellow citizens, you may be called upon any day to stand behind me to maintain the honor of the United States. And how are you going to do it? There are two ways of doing it. One is the careless, easy-going, wasteful way in which we have done these things hitherto. You say, "There are plenty of fighting men in the United States; there are unexhausted and inexhaustible material resources in the United States; nobody could do more than put us at a disadvantage for a little while." Yes; there are plenty of fighting men in the United States; but do they know how modern war is conducted? Do they know how to guard themselves against disease in the camp? Do they know what the discipline of organization is? Shall we send the whole body of those men who first volunteer to be butchered because they did not know how to make themselves immediately ready for the battlefield and the trench; because they did not know anything about the terrible vicissitudes and disciplines of modern battle?

Why, war has been transformed almost within the memory of men. The mere mustering of volunteers is not war. Mere bodies of men are not an army: and we have neither the men nor the equipment for the men if they should be called out. It would take time to

make an army of them—perhaps a fatal length of time—and it would take a long time to provide them with the absolute necessities of warfare. America is not going to sacrifice her youth after that fashion. America is going to prepare for war by preparing citizens who know what war means and how war can be conducted. It is going to increase its standing army up to the point of efficiency for the present uses for which it is needed, and it is going to put back of that army a great body of peaceful men, following their daily pursuits, knowing that their own happiness and the happiness of everybody they love depends upon peace, who, nevertheless, at the call of their country, will know how immediately to make themselves into an army and to come out and face an enemy in a fashion which will show that America can neither be daunted nor taken by surprise.

I spoke just now of equipment. I know that there is a very general impression that influences are at work in this country whose impulse does not come from a thoughtful conviction of danger, but which is said to come from a very thoughtful prospect of profit. I have heard the preposterous statement made that the agitation for preparation for national defense has come chiefly from the men who make armor plate for the ships and munitions for the Army. Why, ladies and gentlemen, do you suppose that all the thoughtful men who are engaged upon this side of this great question are susceptible of being led by influences of that sort? Do you suppose that they are so blind to the manifest opportunities for that sort of profit that they do not know the influences that are abroad and effective in such matters? I have not found the impulse for national defense coming from those sources. I have found it coming from the men with whom I rubbed shoulders on the street and in the factory; I have found it coming from the men who have nothing to do with the making of profits, but who have everything

to do with the making of the daily life of this country. And it is from them that I take my inspiration. But I know the points of danger, and from the first, ladies and gentlemen, I have been urging upon Congress—I urged upon Congress before this war began—that the Government of the United States supply itself with the necessary plants to make the armor for the ships and to make the munitions for the guns and the men, and I believe, and confidently predict, that the adoption of measures of that sort will be part of the preparation for national defense; not in order, for it is not necessary, that the Government should make all the armor plate needed for the fleet or all the munitions needed for the men and the guns, but in order that it should make enough to regulate and control the price.

We are not theorists in this matter. We have tried it in one field. The Government is now manufacturing a very considerable proportion of the powder needed for the Navy. The consequence is that it has reduced its price from 53 cents to 36 cents. The point is that it can now get its powder from the private manufacturers of powder at 36 cents, because they know that it can be manufactured for that with a reasonable profit, and that if the Government can not buy it from them, it will make it for itself.

Of course somebody is going to make money out of the things privately manufactured, manufactured by private capital. There are men now in the great belligerent countries making, I dare say, vast sums of money out of the war, but making it perfectly legitimately, and I for one do not stand here to challenge or doubt their patriotism in the matter. America is not going to be held back from any great national enterprise by any great financial interest of any sort, because America, of all places in the world, is alive to things of that sort and knows how to avoid the difficulties which are involved. If there is any thought on the part of those who make armor plate and munitions

that they will get extraordinary profit out of preparation for national defense, all I have to say is that they will be sadly disappointed. But these are things which to my mind go without saying, for, ladies and gentlemen, if it is necessary to defend this Nation we are going to defend it no matter who makes money and no matter what it costs.

I have heard some gentleman say, "My constituents do not object to the program, but they do object to the bills that will have to be paid afterwards." I would be very sorry to give that account of any constituency in the United States. I would be very sorry to believe, and I do not believe, that any constituency in the United States will be governed by considerations of that sort. Of course it is going to cost money to prepare for defense, but equally of course the American people are going to pay for it, and pay for it without grumbling. We are not selfishly rich; we are a very rich people, but we can not be rich as a people unless we maintain our character and integrity as a people. Life is not worth anything for us as a nation if the very issues of life for the Nation itself are put in jeopardy by the action which we neglect to take. So I have come out on this errand merely to get into touch with you, my fellow citizens, merely to let you know in temperate words from my own lips that the men who are saying that preparation for national defense is necessary, and immediately necessary, are speaking the sober truth. And I believe that you will credit the statement that no man is in a better position to know that than I am.

One aspect of this matter makes me very glad, indeed. Party politics, my friends, sometimes plays too large a part in the United States. Parties are worth while only when their differences are based upon absolute conviction. They are not worth while when they are based upon differences of personal ambition. Parties are dignified and worthy of the consideration of a nation only when their arguments are for the national

benefit, each arguing according to their genuine opinion, their real observation of facts, their real ardor for the national welfare; and it is very delightful sometimes, as upon this occasion, to find an issue regarding which no line can be drawn between one party and another. I have not the embarrassment in standing before you to-night of making the impression that I am urging the advantage of a party or the advantage of an individual. There are just as many men interested in national defense on the one side as on the other. They are all actuated by the same motives; they differ as to details, but they do not differ as to their objects, and I thank God that there is no party politics when it comes to the life and welfare of the United States. Do you suppose that if the country were in danger, any man would hesitate to volunteer on the ground that he belonged to this party or to that? Do you suppose that if a Republican administration were in power at Washington any Democrat would hesitate to enlist, or that, a Democratic administration being there, any Republican would hesitate to enlist? Why, the whole history of the country gives an emphatic negative to that question. We are not Democrats or Republicans to-night. We are Americans.

It was a very thrilling thing to me as I came into this hall to see the multitude of American flags that waved above the heads of this audience, and upon every stage of my journey since I left Washington, on Friday last, I have seen flags, big flags, little flags, flags of every sort, old flags torn with use, new flags brought out for the first time, displayed any way—upon improvised poles, upon the rooftrees of houses, upon chimneys, upon any point of vantage where somebody might throw to the breeze this thrilling signal of our national life; and it has seemed to me that as each stage of the journey was accomplished, there was imprinted still deeper upon my heart this solemn reflection, that the honor of that flag was in my keeping not only, but in the

keeping of the people who displayed it, for, ladies and gentlemen, the impulses of government in this country do not come from the rulers, they come from the people. I was saying the other night that I know of no case where one people made war upon another people. I know only of cases where one Government made war upon another Government. No Government can make war in the United States. The people make war through their representatives. The Constitution of the United States does not give the President even a participating part in the making of war. War can be declared only by the Congress, by an action which the President does not take part in and can not veto. I am literally, by constitutional arrangement, the mere servant of the people's representatives.

I know that a great pulse of feeling underlies the thought of every one of you, as it underlies my thought. We teach our children, ladies and gentlemen, the history of the United States, and I suppose we do incidentally point out to them the great material growth and tremendous physical power of this country, but that is not what we emphasize in our history. We tell them the stories (how proudly we tell them the stories) of the men who have died for their country without any thought of themselves; of the great ideal principles for the vindication of which America was set up, and which the flag that we honor was designed to represent. And as I look at that flag I seem to see many characters upon it which are not visible to the physical eye. There seem to move there ghostly visions of devoted men who, looking to that flag, thought only of liberty, of the rights of mankind, of the mission of America to show the way to the world for the realization of the rights of mankind; and every grave of every brave man of the country would seem to have upon it the colors of the flag, if he was a true American; would seem to have on it that stain of red which means the true pulse of blood, and that beauty of pure white

which means the peace of the soul. And then there seems to rise over the graves of these men and to hallow their memories that blue space of the sky in which stars swim, those stars which exemplify for us that glorious galaxy of the States of the Union, bodies of free men banded together to vindicate the rights of mankind.

Topeka, February 2, 1916.

IT is a genuine satisfaction on my part to find myself in Kansas again. I feel that every word that your governor has said about Kansas is true. It likes to know what the facts are and it likes to give them an open and frank consideration. Moreover, I believe that you realize that I would not have come away from Washington except upon a very unusual occasion. Obviously it is my duty, so far as possible, to be always in Washington during these critical times of change, when nobody knows what an hour will bring forth or what delicate question will assume some new aspect. You will realize, therefore, that it was only because I felt it my imperative and supreme duty to come out and discuss matters with you that I have left Washington at all, and that only for a few days.

I have come, not to plead a cause—the cause I would speak for does not need to be plead for—but because I would assist, if I could, to clarify judgment and to sweep away those things irrelevant and untrue which are likely to cloud the issue of national defense if they be not very candidly spoken about. You will ask me, "Is there some new crisis that has arisen?" I answer, "No; there is no special, new, critical situation which I have to discuss with you; but I want you to understand that the situation every day of the year is critical while this great contest continues in Europe." I need not tell you what my own attitude toward that contest is. I have tried to live up to the counsel which

I have given my fellow citizens, not only to be neutral in action, but also to be neutral in the genuine attitude of my thought and mind. It is easy to refrain from unneutral acts, but it is not easy, when the world is swept by storm, to refrain from unneutral thought. Moreover, America is a composite Nation. You do not realize it quite so much in Kansas as it is realized in some other parts of the Union. So overwhelming a proportion of your population is native born that you naturally feel your first consciousness to be of America and things American; but imagine those communities—and they are many—which contain very large bodies of men whose birthplace, whose memories, whose family connections are on the other side of the sea, in places now swept by the flame of war; men for whom every mail brings news of some disaster that, it may be, has touched those whom they love or has swept the face of some countryside which they remember in association with the days of their youth. Their intimate sympathies are with some of the places now most affected by this titanic struggle. You can not wonder—I do not wonder—that their affections are stirred, old memories awakened and old passions rekindled. The majority of them are steadfast Americans, nevertheless. Look what happened to them, my fellow citizens. You and I were born in America; they chose to be Americans. They deliberately came to America, beckoned hither by some of the fairest promises and prospects ever offered to mankind. They were told that this was a land of liberty and of opportunity, as it is. They were told that this was a land in which they could throw off some of the restraints and trammels under which they had chafed in the older countries. They were told that this was the place for the feet of young men who had ambition and who wished untrammeled hope to be their only leader; and of their own free and deliberate choice they crossed the waters and joined their destinies with ours, and the vast majority

of them have the passion of American liberty in their hearts just as much as you and I have. I do not want any American to misunderstand the real situation, and I believe that to be the real situation. Some men of foreign birth have tried to stir up trouble in America, but, gentlemen, some men of American birth have tried to stir up trouble in America, too. If you were to listen to the counsels that are dinned into my ears in the Executive Office in Washington, you would find that some of the most intemperate of them came from the lips of men whose people have for generations together been identified with America but who for the time being are so carried away by the sweep of their sympathies that they have ceased to think in the terms of American tradition and American policy.

So that the situation for us is this: There is no country in the world, I suppose, whose heart is more open to generous emotions than this dear country which we love. You have seen what the result was in the extraordinary amount of assistance which we have tried to render to those who are suffering most grievously from the consequences of the war on the other side of the sea. I express no judgment concerning any matter with regard to the conduct of the war, but the heart of America has bled because of the condition of the people in Belgium, and you know how we have poured out of our sympathy and of our wealth to assist in the relief of suffering in that sorrow-swept land. America looks to all quarters of the world and sympathizes with mankind in its sufferings wherever those sufferings may be displayed or undergone.

What you have to realize is that everywhere throughout America there is combustible material—combustible in our breasts. It is easy to take fire where everything is hot. It is easy to start a flame when the air is full of the floating sparks of a great conflagration. We have got to be on our guard, and it has been our hourly and daily anxiety in Washington to see that the

exposed tinder was covered up and the sparks prevented from falling where there were magazines.

I was told before I came here, and I read in one of your papers this morning, that Kansas was not in sympathy with any policy of preparation for national defense. I do not believe a word of it. I long ago learned to distinguish between editorial opinion and popular opinion. Moreover, having been addicted to books, I happened to have read the history of Kansas, and if there is any place in the world fuller of fight than Kansas I would like to hear of it; any other place fuller of fight on the right lines. Kansas is not looking for trouble, but Kansas has made trouble for everybody that interfered with her liberties or her rights, and if I were to pick out one place which was likely to wince first and get hot first about invasion of the essential principles of American liberty I certainly would look to Kansas among the first places in the country. If Kansas is opposed or has been opposed to the policy of preparation for national defense, it has been only because somebody has misrepresented that policy, and Kansas does not know what it is.

What is the issue? Why, of course, there are some men going about proposing great military establishments for America, but you have not heard anybody connected with the administration who did. You have not heard anybody in any responsible position who could carry his plan out who did. The singular thing about this situation is that the loudest voices have been the irresponsible voices. It is easy to talk and to say what ought to be done when you know that you do not have to do it. Nobody in authority, nobody in a position to lead the policy of the country, has proposed great military armaments, and nobody who really understands the history or shares the spirit of America could or would propose great military establishments for America. But I have heard of men in Kansas who owned their own firearms and knew how to use them,

and if there is any place in the Union more than another where you ought to understand what it is to be ready to take care of yourselves, this is the place. All that anybody in authority has proposed is that America should be put in such a position that her free citizens should know how to take care of themselves and their country when the occasion arose.

We have been proposing only a very moderate increase in the standing army of the country because it is already too small for the routine uses of peace. I have not had soldiers enough to patrol the border between here and Mexico. I have not had soldiers enough for the ordinary services of the Army, and there are many things that it has been impossible for me to do which it was my duty to do, because there were not men to do them with. You are not, I am sure, going to be jealous of an increase of the Army merely sufficient to enable the Executive to carry out his constitutional responsibilities. Over and above that we have proposed this, that a sufficient number of men out of the ranks of the civil pursuits of the country should be trained in the use and keeping of arms, in the sanitation of camps, in the maneuvers of the field, and in military organization; to be ready and pledged to be ready, if the call should come upon act of Congress, to unite their force with the little force of the Army itself and make a great multitude of armed men who were ready to vindicate the rights of America.

Is there anything inconsistent with the traditions of Kansas or with the true traditions of America in a proposal like that? The very essence of American tradition is contained in the proposal. Every constitution of every State in the Union forbids the State legislature to abridge the right of its citizens to carry arms. At the very outset the makers of our very institutions realized that the force of the Nation must dwell in the homes of the Nation. I do not mean the moral force merely; I mean the physical force also. They

realized that every man must be allowed not only to have a vote, but, if he wanted to, have a gun too, so that when the voices of peace did not suffice, the voices of force would prevail; knowing that great bodies of men do not use force to usurp their own liberties, but to declare and vindicate their liberties, and that there will be no collusion among free men to upset free institutions; that, whereas cliques and coteries and professional groups may conceive it to be of their interest to interfere with the peaceful life of the country, the general body of citizens would never so conceive it.

What we are asking is this, that the Nation supply arms for those of the Nation who are ready, if occasion should arise, to come to the national defense, and that it should do this without withdrawing them from their pursuits of industry and of peace, in order that America should know that in the fountains from which she always draws her strength there welled up the inexhaustible resources of American manhood. This is not a military policy; this is a policy of adequate preparation for national defense, and any man who represents it in any other light must either be ignorant or is consciously misrepresenting the facts.

You will say, "We have a National Guard." Yes; we have a National Guard, and the units of it, so far as I have observed them, command my admiration and respect, but there are only 129,000 enlisted men in the National Guard, taking the Nation as a whole, and they are divided up into as many units as there are States. The Constitution of the United States puts them under the direct command and control of the governors of the States, not of the President of the United States, and the national authority has no right to call upon them for any service outside their States unless the territory of the Nation is actually invaded. I want to see Congress do everything that it can to enhance the dignity and the force and to assist in the development of the National Guard, but the National Guard

is a body of State troops and not a body of national reserves, because the Constitution makes them so, no matter whether we now think those are the best arrangements or not.

The other matter I want to speak to you about is not the plan itself, for that is a question of detail. I have given you the idea of it, and time does not suffice to discuss the detail in meetings of this sort. The detail is printed, for that matter, for anybody to see who wants it. The other matter is this: Suppose you had a great body of, let us say, half a million men sufficiently trained to arms to make the nucleus of a great army if it were necessary to create a great army. What would be your idea that you would do with it? That is the matter that we need to clear up most of all. There are all sorts of people in the United States, and there are people who think that we ought to use the force of the United States to get anything we can get with it; but you do not think that, and I do not think that, and not one American in a hundred thousand thinks that. We would never use this force to carry out any policy that even smacked of aggression of any kind; because this Nation loves peace more than it loves anything else except honour.

I like that exclamation of Henry V in that stirring play of Shakespeare's, "If it be an offence to covet honour, then am I the most offending soul alive," and I believe that could be said of America. If it be an offense against the peace of the nations to covet honour, then is America the most offending nation in the world. But she knows the basis of honour—that the basis of honour is right, is peaceful intention, is just action, is the treatment of others as we would wish to be treated ourselves, is the insistence upon the rule of a free field and no favor. The spirit of America would hold any Executive back, would hold any Congress back, from any action that had the least taint of aggression upon it. We are not going to invade any

nation's territory. We are not going to covet any nation's possessions. We are not going to invade any nation's rights. But suppose, my fellow countrymen, some nation should invade our rights. What then? What would Kansas think? What would Kansas do then? What would America, speaking by the voice of Kansas or any other State in the Union, think and do then? I have come here to tell you that the difficulties of our foreign policy, the delicate questions of our foreign relationships, do not diminish either in number or in delicacy and difficulty, but, on the contrary, daily increase in number and in intricacy and in danger, and I would be derelict to my duty to you if I did not deal with you in these matters with the utmost candor and tell you what it may be necessary to use the force of the United States to do.

For one thing, it may be necessary to use the force of the United States to vindicate the right of American citizens everywhere to enjoy the protection of international law. There is nothing you would be quicker to blame me for than neglecting to safeguard the rights of Americans, no matter where they might be in the world. There are perfectly clearly marked rights guaranteed by international law which every American is entitled to enjoy, and America is not going to abide the habitual or continued neglect of those rights. Perhaps not being as near the ports as some other Americans, you do not travel as much and you do not realize the infinite number of legitimate errands upon which Americans travel—errands of commerce, errands of relief, errands of business for the Government, errands of every sort which make America useful to the world. Americans do not travel to disturb the world; they travel to quicken the processes of the interchange of life and of goods in the world, and their travel ought not to be impeded by a reckless disregard of international obligation.

There is another thing that we ought to safeguard,

and that is our right to sell what we produce in the open neutral markets of the world. Where there is a blockade, we recognize the right to blockade; where there are the ordinary restraints created by a state of war, we ought to recognize those restraints; but the world needs the wheat off of the Kansas fields and off the other great flowering acres of the United States, and we have a right to supply the rest of the world with the products of those fields. We have a right to send food to peaceful populations wherever the conditions of war make it possible to do so under the ordinary rules of international law. We have a right to supply them with our cotton to clothe them. We have a right to supply them with our manufactured products.

We have made some mistakes, my fellow citizens. For several generations past we have so neglected our merchant marine that one of the difficulties we are struggling against has nothing to do with international questions. We have not got the American ships to send the goods in, and we have got to get them. I am going to ask you to follow the fortunes of the so-called shipping bill in the present Congress and make suggestions to your Congressmen as to the absolute necessity of getting your wheat and your other products out of the ports and upon the high seas where they can go, and shall go, under the protection of the laws of the United States.

But that is a mere parenthesis. Aside from that, so far as there are vehicles to carry our trade, we have the right to extend our trade for the assistance of the world. For we have not been selfish in this neutral attitude of ours. I resent the suggestion that we have been selfish, desiring merely to make money. What would happen if there were no great nation disengaged from this terrible struggle? What would happen if every nation were consuming its substance in war? What would happen if no nation stood ready to assist the world with its finances and to supply it with its

food? We are more indispensable now to the nations at war by the maintenance of our peace than we could possibly be to either side if we engaged in the war, and therefore there is a moral obligation laid upon us to keep out of this war if possible. But by the same token there is a moral obligation laid upon us to keep free the courses of our commerce and of our finance, and I believe that America stands ready to vindicate those rights.

But there are rights higher than either of those, higher than the rights of individual Americans outside of America, higher and greater than the rights of trade and of commerce. I mean the rights of mankind. We have made ourselves the guarantors of the rights of national sovereignty and of popular sovereignty on this side of the water in both the continents of the Western Hemisphere. You would be ashamed, as I would be ashamed, to withdraw one inch from that handsome guarantee; for it is a handsome guarantee. We have nothing to make by it, unless it be that we are to make friendships by it, and friendships are the best usury of any sort of business. So far as dollars and cents and material advantage are concerned we have nothing to make by the Monroe doctrine. We have nothing to make by allying ourselves with the other nations of the Western Hemisphere in order to see to it that no man from outside, no government from outside, no nation from outside attempts to assert any kind of sovereignty or undue political influence over the peoples of this continent.

America knows that the only thing that sustains the Monroe doctrine and all the inferences that flow from it is her own moral and physical force. The Monroe doctrine is not part of international law. The Monroe doctrine has never been formally accepted by any international agreement. The Monroe doctrine merely rests upon the statement of the United States that if certain things happen she will do certain things. So, nothing

sustains the honour of the United States in respect of these long-cherished and long-admired promises except her own moral and physical force.

Do you know what has interfered more than anything else with the peaceful relations of the United States with the rest of the world? The incredulity of the rest of the world when we have made statement of our sincere unselfishness in these matters! The greatest surprise the world ever had, politically speaking, was when the United States withdrew from Cuba. We said, "We are fighting this war for the sake of the Cubans, and when it is over we are going to turn Cuba over to her own people"; and statesmen in every capital in Europe smiled behind their hand. They said, "What! that great rich island lying directly south of the foot of your own Florida! plant your flag there and then haul it down?" Some Americans even said, "We will never raise the flag of the United States anywhere and then haul it down." And then, when the American people saw that the time had come when her promises were to be fulfilled, down came that fluttering emblem of our sovereignty, and we were more honored in its lowering than we had been in its hoisting. The American people feel the same way about the Philippines, though the rest of the world does not yet believe it. We are trustees for the Filipino people, and just so soon as we feel that they can take care of their own affairs without our direct interference and protection, the flag of the United States will again be honored by the fulfillment of a promise. That flag stands for honor, not for advantage. That flag stands for the rights of mankind, no matter where they be, no matter what their antecedents, no matter what the race involved; it stands for the absolute right to political liberty and free self-government, and wherever it stands for the contrary American traditions have begun to be forgotten.

But, my friends, the world does not understand that

yet. It has got to have a few more demonstrations like the demonstration in Cuba; it has got to have a few more vindications of the American name. When those vindications have come, I believe that nothing but peace will ever reign between the United States and the nations of the rest of the world. For every man who minds his own business is sure of peace. Every man who respects his own character and observes the rights of others is sure of peace. And every nation that makes right its guide and honor its principle is sure of peace. But until these things are believed of us we must be ready with the hand of force to hold others off from the invasion of any right which we hold sacred.

I have come to you with the utmost confidence that the moment you understood the issue, all differences of party, all differences of individual judgment, all differences of point of view would fall away, and like true Americans we should all stand shoulder to shoulder in a common cause,—America first and her vindication the sacred law of our life. For, ladies and gentlemen, it is only upon the most solemn occasions that I would appeal to you as I have been appealing to-day. The final test of the validity, the strength, the irresistible force of the American ideal, has come. The rest of the world must be made to realize from this time out just what America stands for, and when that happy time comes when peace shall reign again and America shall take part in the undisturbed and unclouded counsels of the world, it will be realized that the promises of the fathers, the ambitions of the men who fought for the bloody soil of Kansas, the ideals of the men who thought nothing of their lives in comparison with their ideals, will have been vindicated and the world will say, "America promised to hold this light of liberty and right up for the guidance of our feet, and behold she has redeemed her promise. Her men, her leaders, her rank and file are pure of heart; they have purged their hearts of selfish ambition and they have said to

all mankind, 'Men and brethren, let us live together in righteousness and in the peace which springeth only from the soil of righteousness itself.' "

Convention Hall, Kansas City, February 2, 1916.

YOU have certainly given me a most royal welcome to Kansas City, and I esteem it a very great privilege to deliver the message which I have come to deliver to this great throng of intelligent people. My natural duty to you, ladies and gentlemen, is in Washington, not here. I have a certain scruple of conscience in being away from Washington for many days at a time, because it is one of the interesting circumstances of the moment that there is hardly a day which does not in some degree alter the aspect of affairs. It is important for your sake, and, I venture to add, for the sake of the peace of the world, that those who represent you in responsible stations should keep in constant touch with these changes. You will, therefore, credit me when I say that it is only an extraordinary occasion which draws me away from duties needing such constant attention.

I would not have come away from Washington had I not believed that there was a stronger compulsion of conscience to acquaint you with the state of affairs than there was to remain during this week at the place of guidance. You will know without my describing it to you what the task assigned me has been. It has been the task of keeping the scales so poised from day to day that no man should throw into one scale or the other any makeweight which would imperil the peace of the United States; for I have felt that you were depending upon your Government to keep you out of this turmoil which is disturbing the rest of the world. You are counting upon me to do more than keep you out of trouble, however. You are counting upon me

to see to it that the rights of citizens of the United States, wherever they might be, are respected by everybody. You have counted upon me to see that your energies should be released also along the channels of trade in order that you might serve the world as the only Nation disengaged and ready to serve it. You have expected me to see that the rest of the world permitted America thus to express and exercise her humane and legitimate energy.

I have come out to ask you what there was behind me in this task. You know the lawyers speak of the law having a sanction back of it. The judge as he sits on his bench has something back of him. He has the whole physical force of the Nation back of him. The laws reside and sit upon him, no matter how commonplace his individual aspect, with a sort of majesty, because there is the sovereignty of the people and of the people's government back of him. When he utters a judgment the man against whom it is uttered knows that he dare not resist it. But when I, as your spokesman and representative, utter a judgment with regard to the rights of the United States in its relations to other nations, what is the sanction? What is the compulsion? What lies back of that? You will say, "The force and majesty of the United States." Yes; the force and majesty of the United States; but is it ready to express itself? If you resist the judge, there are the bailiffs of the court; if you resist the bailiffs of the court, there are those who assist the sheriff of the county; if you resist the sheriff, there is the National Guard; if you resist the National Guard, there is the Army of the United States. But if you ignore in some foreign capital what the President of the United States urges as the rights of the people and Government of the United States, what is there back of that?

It is necessary, my fellow citizens, that I should ask you this question, because I do not know how long the mere word and insistence of your Government will pre-

vail to maintain your honor and the dignity and power of the Nation. There may come a time—I pray God it may never come, but it may, in spite of everything we do, come upon us, and come of a sudden—when I shall have to ask: "I have had my say; who stands back of me? Where is the force by which the majesty and right of the United States are to be maintained and asserted?" I take it that there may in your own conviction come a time when that might and force must be vindicated and asserted. You are not willing that what your Government says should be ignored.

I have seen editorials written in more than one part of the United States sneering at the number of notes that were being written from the State Department to foreign Governments, and asking, "Why does not the Government act?" And in those same papers I have seen editorials against the preparation to do anything whatever effective if those notes are not regarded. Is that the temper of the United States? It may be the temper of some editorial offices, but it is not the temper of the people of the United States.

I came out upon this errand from Washington, and see what happened. Before I started everybody knew what errand I was bound on. I expected to meet quiet audiences and explain to them the issues of the day, and what did I meet? At every stop of the train multitudes of my fellow citizens crowded out, not to see the President of the United States merely—he is not much to look at—but to declare their ardent belief in the majesty of the Government which he stands for and for the time being represents, and to declare in one fashion or another, if it were only by cheers, that they stood ready to do their duty in the hour of need. I have been thrilled by the experiences of these few days, and I shall go back to Washington and smile at anybody who tells me that the United States is not wide awake. But, gentlemen, crowds at the stations, multitudes in great audience halls, cheers for the Government, the

display—the ardent display, as from the heart—of the emblem of our Nation, the Stars and Stripes, only express the spirit of the Nation; they do not express the organized force of the Nation. And while I know, and knew before I left Washington, what the spirit of the people was, I have come out to ask them what their organization is and what they intend to make it.

Modern wars are not won by mere numbers. They are not won by mere enthusiasm. They are not won by mere national spirit. They are won by the scientific conduct of war, the scientific application of irresistible force. And what is there behind the President of the United States? Well, in the first place, there is a Navy, which, for my part, I am very proud of; a Navy, which for its numbers, ship by ship, man by man, officer by officer, I believe to be the equal of any navy in the world. But look at the great sweep of our coasts. Mind you, this war has engaged all the rest of the world outside of South America and the portion of North America occupied by the United States, and if this flame begins to creep in on us, it may, my fellow citizens, creep in toward both coasts, and here are thousands upon thousands of miles of coast. Do you know that the great sweep from the canal up the coast to Alaska is something like half the circumference of the world? Do you remember the great reaches of sea from the canal up to the St. Lawrence River? Do you know the bays, the inviting harbors, the great cities which cluster upon those coasts? And do you think that a Navy that ranks only fourth in the world in force is enough to defend the coasts and make secure the territory of a great continent like this?

We have been interested in our Navy for a great many years, and we have been slowly building it up to excellent force, but we have done it piecemeal and a little at a time. There has been a party in Congress that was for a little Navy, as well as a party in Congress that was for a big Navy, and it seemed to me a sort

of theoretical situation as to whether we wanted a Navy to be proud of or not. No nation ought to wish either an Army or Navy to be proud of, to make a display with, to make a toy of. It is the arm of force which must lie back of every sovereignty in the world, and the Navy of the United States must now be as rapidly as possible brought to a state of efficiency and of numerical strength which will make it practically impregnable to the navies of the world. The fighting force of the Navy now is splendid, and I should expect very great achievements from the fine officers and trained men that constitute it, but it is not big enough; it is not numerous enough; it is incomplete. It must be completed, and what the present administration is proposing is that we limit the number of years to five within which we shall complete a definite program which will make that Navy adequate for the defense of both coasts.

But, on land what stands behind the President, if he should have to act in your behalf to enforce the demands of the United States for respect and right? An Army so small that I have not had men enough to patrol the Mexican border. The Mexican border is a very long border, I admit; it runs the whole southern length of Texas and the whole southern length of New Mexico and Arizona besides, and that is a great strip of noble territory. But what is that single border to the whole extent and coast of the United States? I have not had men enough to prevent bandits from raiding across the border of Mexico into the United States. It has been a very mortifying circumstance indeed. I have been tempted to advise Congress to help Texas build up its little force of Texas Rangers; and now, if you please, because I am asking the Congress to give the Government an Army adequate to the uses of peace, to the uses of the moment, some gentlemen go about and prate of military establishments. They see phantoms, they dream dreams. Militarism in the United States springing out of any of the proposals of this

administration is,—why, a man must have a very strong imagination indeed to conceive any such nonsense as that! I am not asking, the administration is not asking, to be backed by any bigger standing Army than is necessary for the uses of the moment, but it is asking this:

Do you remember the experiences of the Spanish-American war? That was not much of a war, was it? It did not last very long. You remember the satirical verses that some newspaper man wrote about it—

> War is rude and impolite,
> It quite upsets a nation;
> It's made of several weeks of fight,
> And years of conversation.

A war which was parodied in verse! What happened? You sent thousands of men to their death because they were ignorant. They did not get any farther than the camps in Florida. They did not get on the water even, much less get to Cuba, and they died in the camps like flies, of all sorts of camp diseases, of all sorts of diseases that come from the ignorance of medical science and camp sanitation. Splendid boys, boys fit, with a little training, to make an invincible army, but sent to their death by miserable disease, the soil of which was ignorance, helpless ignorance. Why, the percentage of our loss in that war by disease in the camp was greater than the percentage of the loss of the Japanese by disease and battle together in their war with Russia.

It is a very mortifying thing. There is not any place in the world where medical science is more nobly studied or more adequately applied than in the United States, but we poured crude, ignorant, untrained boys into the ranks of those armies and they died before they got sight of an enemy. Do you want to repeat that? And while that is going on what may happen? What sort of disaster may come to you while you are trying to

make an army out of absolutely raw material? Why, it seems almost ridiculous to state how little the present administration is asking for. It is asking that you give it something that is not mere raw material out of which to begin to make an army when it is absolutely necessary to make an army. It is asking that five hundred thousand men be asked to volunteer to take a little training every year for three years, not more than two or three months out of the year, in order than when volunteers are called for in the case of war we may have men, at least five hundred thousand of them, who know something about the use of arms, something about the sanitation of camps, something about the organization and discipline of war in the field and in the trenches. That is all that we are asking for at the present time, and if there is any criticism to be made upon it, it is that it is too little, not too much.

There are men in Congress asking, "Can you get the five hundred thousand men? Will they volunteer?" Why, I believe you could get them out of any one State in the Union. You could almost get five thousand of them out of this audience. But, ladies and gentlemen, do not forget that that is not all there is to this problem. Suppose that I knew that back of the insistence of the United States upon its rights was a great navy that ranked first in the world and a body of men trained to arms adequate, at any rate, to fend off any initial disaster to the United States while we were making a greater army ready. That would be only the beginning. There are other things that we have been very much concerned about in Washington and that we are taking steps to attend to. The railroads of this country have never been drawn into the counsels of the Government, never until recently, in such fashion as to make plans for co-ordinating all of them, to transport troops and transport provisions and transport munitions in such a way as to be the effective arteries of the red blood and energy of the Nation; never until recently,

though we are now beginning to do it, for we called the business men and the engineers of the country into counsel to say, "What are the resources of manufacture in this country, and how can we co-ordinate them and put them into co-operation, so that there will be no waste of time, no duplication of effort, and no failure to get every part of the machinery into operation should we need to use them in times of war?" We are taking counsel with regard to that now; but, mark you, the munitions of war are made in this country almost exclusively near the borders of the country, and for the most part upon the Atlantic seaboard, and any initial disaster to the force of the United States might put the greater part of them, if not all of them, in the possession of an enemy. So that you see the circle of my argument leads right back to the necessity for a force of men who can prevent an initial disaster, so that there will be no first failure, no first invasion, no first disaster.

Did you ever hear more momentous things spoken of than these? Did it ever before occur to you that you must put more than the authority of words into the mouths of the men who speak for you? I have been wringing my heart and straining every energy of mind that I have to preserve the honor and integrity and peace of the United States, but think of what must lie at the back of my thought. I know what you want me to do. I would be ashamed if I did not use the utmost powers that are in me to do it. But suppose that some morning I should have to turn to you and say, "Fellow citizens, I have done as much as I can; now I must ask you to back me up with the force of the Nation." And suppose that I should know before I said it that I had not told you what that meant, as I am telling you to-night. Suppose that I had not warned you of what was involved. Suppose that I had not challenged you in a moment of peace to make ready. Do not suppose, however, that I am afraid that it is not going to be done. I would not do the injustice that that implication would

involve to the gallant men upon the Hill yonder in Washington who make the laws of the Nation. They are going to do a good deal of debating, but they are going to deliver the goods. Do not misunderstand me; I do not mean that I can oblige them to deliver the goods; they are going to deliver the goods because you want them delivered.

I am a believer not only in some of the men who talk, though not all of them, but also in that vast body of my fellow citizens who do not do any talking. I would a great deal rather listen to the still, small voice that comes out of the great body of the Nation than to all the vocal orators in the land. But there are times when I must come out and say, "Do not let the voice be too small and too still"; when I must come out and say, "Fellow citizens, get up on your hind legs and talk and tell the people who represent you, wherever they are—in your State Capital or in your National Capital—what it is that the Nation desires and demands." The thing that everybody is listening for in a democracy is the tramp, tramp, tramp of the facts and the people.

Did you ever realize what the force of a democracy is? May I give you a small, whimsical example? A cynical English writer once said that the problem in every nation was how, out of a multitude of knaves, to make an honest people. Now, I, for my part, deny utterly that any nation is a multitude of knaves, but if it were a multitude of knaves as numerous as the people of the United States, you could make an honest nation out of them in this way: They are not all selfishly interested in the same things at the same time; they are going to take care of each other and neutralize each other and inspire one another. Suppose that an audience as great as this surrounded, let us say, a football field, too far away from the field to hear anything that was said out in the middle of the field itself; and suppose two men, dressed in the ordinary street dress and not expected to pummel each other as the players

perhaps are should come out before the players and, standing in the sight of that great multitude, should suddenly fall to blows. You know what would happen. A great outcry would be raised, "Put them out! Put them out!" and there would be universal indignation that they should have so lost their self-possession and forgotten their decency. Now, what happened? Perhaps one of those men said to the other something that nobody would allow another man to say to him without hitting him. Perhaps there was not a man in the whole body of the audience who would not have struck the first blow upon the same provocation. But it was not his provocation. He did not hear what was said; if he did, it was not addressed to him, and he is cool while they are hot.

Now, that is the way to answer the Englishman's cynical question. This country is so vast, its interests are so various, there are so many competing interests in it, that, while any body of citizens is hot, the vast majority are cool, and the vast majority are going to sit in judgment on the minority and tell them they have got to keep their heads and decide the quarrel in decent fashion. That is the way a democracy works. We are all of us fit to be judges about what is none of our business, and that is the way that great bodies of men come to the most cool-headed judgments. Their passions are not involved, their special interests are not involved; they are looking at the things with a certain remove, with a certain aloofness of judgment.

I am anxious, therefore, my fellow citizens, that you should look at the hot stuff of war before you touch it; that you should be cool; that you should apply your hard business sense to the proposition, "Shall we be caught unawares and do a scientific job like tyros and ignoramuses? Or shall we be ready? Shall we know how to do it, and when it is necessary to do it; shall we do it to the queen's taste?" I know what the answer of America is, but I want it to be unmistakably uttered,

and I want it to be uttered now. Because, speaking with all solemnity, I assure you that there is not a day to be lost; not, understand me, because of any new or specially critical matter, but because I can not tell 24 hours at a time whether there is going to be trouble or not. And whether there is or not does not depend upon what I do or what I say, or upon what any man in the United States does or says. It depends upon what foreign governments do; what the commanders of ships at sea do; what those in charge of submarines do; what those who are conducting blockades do. Upon the judgment of a score of men, big and little, hang the vital issues of peace or war for the United States.

This month should not go by without something decisive done by the people of the United States by way of preparation of the arms of self-vindication and defense. My heart burns within me, my fellow citizens, when I think of the importance of this matter and of all that is involved. I am sorry that there should be anybody in the United States who goes about crying out for war. There are such men, but they are irresponsible men, who do a great deal of talking, and they are appealing to some of the most fundamental and dangerous passions of the human heart. And yet they are appealing, it must also be said, to some of the handsomest passions of the human heart. If I see somebody suffering, suffering cruelly, suffering unjustly, and believe that by the exercise of force on my part I can stop the suffering, it is not a low but an exalted passion which leads me to wish to go in and help. And there are men in this country, men by the thousand, who believe that we ought to intervene to stop the intolerable suffering which is involved in some of the processes of this terrible war. Yet I, for my part, am so convinced that we can help better by keeping out of the war, by giving our financial resources to the use of the injured world, by giving our cotton and our woolen stuffs to clothe the world; I am so convinced that

the processes of peace are even now the helpful and healing and redeeming forces that I do not see how any man can think that by adding to the number of guns you can decrease the suffering or the tragedy of the world.

There is tragedy abroad in the world, my fellow citizens. We in these peaceful areas of this blessed country go about our daily tasks unmolested and unafraid. It seems very strange that this tragedy should be enacted while we lie so still and peaceful in our own abodes, but the world has never before in the history of mankind seen war upon such a scale, seen war with so many terrible features, seen the sweep of destruction comparable to that which is now devastating the fields of Europe. We think our own Civil War one of the bloodiest wars in history, but all the suffering of all the four years of that war are as dust in the balance as compared to the losses and sufferings and sacrifices which are being witnessed in Europe and upon the seas to-day. We are witnessing a cataclysm, and God only knows what the issue will be.

See, therefore, the noble part that is assigned to America,—to stand steady, to stand cool, to keep alive all the wholesome processes of peace,—and we who are trustees to repair the world when the damage is done must take counsel with one another how we shall see to it that we shall not be prevented from the efficacious performance of that task. I would not condescend to appeal to your passions. I would be ashamed of myself if I tried to do anything but quiet your judgments. I do not wish you to be any more excited than I am. I am too solemn to be excited. I would not draw a passionate breath for fear I might disturb the nice equipoise of the peace of this part of the world. But, ladies and gentlemen, one cannot help seeing visions, one cannot help realizing what it means to stand for the honor of a great nation like this. You little realize the feeling that it gives me when I see those little flags

lifted in the air, and know that every one of them is a symbol of the solemn duty laid upon those selected to represent you in the counsels of the world. And I have come in all solemnity to ask you to sustain the judgment of those who represent you in applying the means, the necessary means, the only means which will make it certain that those great interests may be conserved and cared for.

I am going away from here reassured beyond even the hope that I entertained when I came here; and yet I want to beg of you that you do not let the impressions of this hour die with the hour. Let every man and woman in this place go out of here with the feeling that he must concentrate his influence from this moment until the thing is accomplished upon making certain the security and adequacy of national defense. Because, if America suffer, all the world loses its equipoise. Madness has entered into everything, and that serene flag which we have thrown to the breeze upon so many occasions as the beckoning finger of hope to those who believe in the rights of mankind will itself be stained with the blood of battle, and staggering here and there among its foes will lead men to wonder where the star of America has gone and why America has allowed herself to be embroiled when she might have carried that standard serenely forward to the redemption of the affairs of mankind. I beg of you to stand by your Government with your minds as well as your hearts, and let us redeem America by applying our judgments to the wholesome process of national defense.

Coliseum, St. Louis, February 3, 1916.

I CAME into the Middle West to find something, and I found it. I was told in Washington that the Middle West had a different feeling from the portions of the country that lie upon either coast, and that it was

indifferent to the question of preparation for national defense. I knew enough of the Middle West of this great continent to know that the men who said that did not know what they were talking about. I knew the spirit of America to dwell as much in this great section of the country as in any other section of it, and I knew that the men of these parts loved the honor and safety of America as much as Americans everywhere love it and are ready to stand by it. I did not come out to find out how you felt or what you thought, but to tell you what was going on. I came out in order that there might be an absolute clarification of the issues which are involved in the questions immediately confronting us, because I, for one, have an absolute faith in the readiness of America to act upon the facts just as soon as America knows what the facts are.

The facts are very easily and briefly stated. What is the situation? The situation is that America is at peace with all the world and desires to remain at peace with all the world. And it is not a shallow peace; it is a genuine peace, based upon some of the most fundamental influences of international intercourse. America is at peace with all the world because she entertains a real friendship for all the nations of the world. It is not, as some have mistakenly supposed, a peace based upon self-interest. It is a peace based upon some of the most generous sentiments that characterize the human heart.

You know, my fellow citizens, that this Nation is a composite Nation. It has a genuine friendship for all the nations of the world because it is drawn from all the nations of the world. The blood of all the great national stocks runs, and runs red and strong, in the veins of America, and America understands what the genuine ties of friendship and affection are. It would tear the heartstrings of America to be at war with any of the great nations of the world. Our peace is not a superficial peace. Our peace is not based upon the mere

conveniences of our national life. If great issues were involved which it was our honorable obligation to defend, we should not be at peace, but would plunge into any struggle that was necessary in order to defend the honor and integrity of the Nation; but we believe, my fellow citizens, that we can show our friendship for the world and our devotion to the principles of humanity better and more effectively by keeping out of this struggle than by getting into it.

I do not misread the heart of this great country. The heart of this great country is sound, and it is made up of those fundamental principles of human sympathy which move all mankind when they are permitted free scope and are not interfered with by the politics of groups of men and the suggestions of those who do not represent the people themselves. I have no indictment against any form of government, but I do believe in my heart that the world has never witnessed a case, and never will witness a case, where one people desired to make war upon another people, and I believe that the security of America rests in the fact that no man is the master of America; that no man can lead America any whither that her people do not desire to be led. I believe it to be my duty, whatever my individual opinions might be, whatever my individual sympathies, whatever my individual points of view, to subordinate everything to the conscientious attempt to interpret and express in the international affairs of the world the genuine spirit of my fellow citizens.

So far as America is concerned no man need go about amongst us preaching peace. We are disciples of peace already, and no man need preach that gospel amongst us. I, in my individual capacity, am also a disciple of domestic peace and security; but, suppose that my neighbor's house is on fire and my roof is of combustible shingles, is it my fault if the fire eats into the wood, if the flames leap from timber to timber? Is it my fault, because I love peace and security, that my doors are battered in

and reckless men make light of the peace and security of my house? The danger is not from within, gentlemen; it is from without, and I am bound to tell you that that danger is constant and immediate, not because anything new has happened, not because there has been any change in our international relationships within recent weeks or months, but because the danger comes with every turn of events. Why, gentlemen, the commanders of submarines have their instructions, and those instructions are consistent for the most part with the law of nations, but one reckless commander of a submarine, choosing to put his private interpretation upon what his government wishes him to do, might set the world on fire. There are not only governments to deal with, but the servants of governments; there are not only the contacts of politics, but also those infinitely varied contacts which come from the mere movement of mankind, the quiet processes of the everyday world. There are cargoes of cotton on the seas; there are cargoes of wheat on the seas; there are cargoes of manufactured articles on the seas; and every one of those cargoes may be the point of ignition, because every cargo goes into the field of fire, goes where there are flames which no man can control.

I know the spirit of America to be this: We respect other nations, and absolutely respect their rights so long as they respect our rights. We do not claim anything for ourselves, which they would not in like circumstances claim for themselves. Every statement of right that we have made is grounded upon the previous utterances of their own public men and their own judges. There is no dispute about the rights of nations under the understandings of international law. America has drawn no fine points. America has raised no novel issue. America has merely asserted the rights of her citizens and her Government upon what is written plain upon all the documents of international intercourse. Therefore America is not selfish in claiming her rights; she is

merely standing for the rights of mankind when the life of mankind is being disturbed by an unprecedented war between the greatest nations of the world. Some of these days we shall be able to call the statesmen of the older nations to witness that it was we who kept the quiet flame of international principle burning upon its altars while the winds of passion were sweeping every other altar in the world. Some of these days they will look back with gratification upon the steadfast allegiance of the United States to those principles of action which every man loves when his temper is not upset and his judgment not disturbed.

I am ready to make every patient allowance for men caught in the storm of national struggle. I am not in a critical frame of mind. I am ready to yield everything but the absolute final essential right, because I know how my heart would burn, I know how my mind would be in a whirl if America were engaged in what seemed a death grapple. I know how I would be inclined to sweep aside the minor impediments of the ordinary transactions of government, and how I would be inclined to say to myself: "Why, we are fighting for our lives, and we are not going to be punctilious as to how we are fighting for our lives. Punctilio has nothing to do with it." I am ready to make every allowance for both sides, for, having pledged myself, as your chairman has reminded you, to maintain, if it be possible for me to maintain, the peace of the United States, I have thereby pledged myself to think as far as possible from the point of view of the other side as well as from the point of view of America. I want the record of the conduct of this administration to be a record of genuine neutrality and not of pretended neutrality.

You know the circumstances of the time. You know how one group of belligerents is practically shut off by circumstances over which we have no control from the ordinary commerce of the world. You know, therefore, how the spirit of America has not been able to

express itself adequately in both directions. But I believe that the people of America are genuinely neutral. I believe that their desire is to stand in unprejudiced judgment upon what is going on; not that they would arrogate to themselves the right to utter rebuking judgment upon any nation, but that they are holding themselves off to assist neither side in what is wrong, and to countenance both sides in what they are doing for the legitimate defense of their national honor.

The fortunate circumstance of America, my fellow countrymen, is that it desires nothing but a free field and no favor. Our security is in the purity of our motives. The minute we get an impure motive we are going to deserve to be insecure. The minute we desire what we have no right to, then we are going to get into trouble and ought to get into trouble. But, my fellow citizens, while we know our own hearts and know our own desires, it does not follow that other nations and other governments understand our purpose and our principle of action. These are days of infinite prejudice and passion, because they are days of war. It is said by an old maxim that amidst war the law is silent. It is also true that amidst war the judgment is silent. Men press forward towards their object with a certain degree of blind recklessness, and they are apt to excite their passion particularly against those who in any way stand in their way. Therefore, this is the situation that I have come to remind you of, for you need merely to have it stated to see it: The peace of the world, including America, depends upon the aroused passion of other nations and not upon the motives of the United States. It is for that reason that I have come to call you to a consciousness of the necessity for preparing this country for anything that may happen.

Here is the choice, and I do not see how any prudent man could doubt which side of the alternative to take: Either we shall stand still and wait for the necessity for immediate national defense to come and then call for

raw volunteers who for the first few months would be impotent as against a trained and experienced enemy, or we shall adopt the ancient American principle that the men of the country shall immediately be made ready to take care of their own Government. You have either got to make the men of this Nation in sufficient number ready to defend the Nation against initial disaster, or you have got to take the risk of initial disaster. Think of the cruelty, think of the stupidity, of putting raw levies of inexperienced men into the modern field of battle! We are not asking for armies; we are asking for a trained citizenship which will act in the spirit of citizenship and not in the spirit of military establishments. If anybody is afraid of a trained citizenship in America he is afraid also of the spirit of America itself. I do not want to command a great army under the authority granted me by the Constitution to be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States; I want to command the confidence and support of my fellow citizens.

Of course you will back me up and come to my assistance if I need you, but will you come knowing what you are about, or will you not? Will you come knowing the character of the arms that you carry in your hands, knowing something of the discipline of organization, knowing something of how to take care of yourselves in camp, knowing something of all those things that it is necessary to know so as not to throw human life away? It is handsome, my fellow citizens, to sacrifice human life intelligently for something greater than life itself, but it is not handsome for any cause whatever to throw human life away.

The plans now laid before the Congress of the United States are merely plans not to throw the life of American youth away. Those plans are going to be adopted. I am not jealous and you are not jealous of the details; no man ought to be confident that his judgment is correct about the details; no man ought to say to any legis-

lative body, "You must take my plan or none at all"—that is arrogance and stupidity—but we have the right to insist, and I believe that it will not be necessary to insist, that we get the essential thing; that is to say, a principle, a system, by which we can secure a trained citizenship, so that if it becomes necessary to defend the Nation the first line of defense on land will be an adequate and intelligent line of defense.

I say "on land" because America apparently has never been jealous of armed men if they are only at sea. America also knows that you can not send volunteers to sea unless you want to send them to the bottom. The modern fighting ship, the modern submarine, every instrument of modern naval warfare must be handled by experts. America has never debated or disputed that proposition, and all that we are asking for now is that a sufficient number of experts and a sufficient number of vessels be at our disposal. The vessels we have are manned by experts. There is not a better service in the world than that of the American Navy. But no matter how skilled and capable the officers or devoted the men, they must have ships enough, and we are going to give them ships enough. We have been doing it slowly and leisurely and good-naturedly, as we are accustomed to do everything in times of peace, but now we must get down to business and do it systematically. We must lay down a program and then steadfastly carry it out and complete it. There are no novelties about the program. All the lines of it are the lines already established, only drawn out to their legitimate conclusion, and drawn out so that they will be completed within a calculable length of time. Do you realize the task of the Navy? Have you ever let your imagination dwell upon the enormous stretch of coast from the Canal to Alaska,—from the Canal to the northern corner of Maine? There is no other navy in the world that has to cover so great an area of defense as the

American Navy, and it ought, in my judgment, to be incomparably the most adequate navy in the world.

As I say, you have never been jealous of armed force at sea; you have been jealous of armed force on land; and I must say that I share with you the jealousy of a great military establishment. But I never have shared any prejudice against putting arms in the hands of trained citizens whose interest is to defend their own homes and their own security, and not to serve any political purpose whatever. There is no politics in national defense, ladies and gentlemen. I would be sorry to see men of different parties differ about anything but the details of this great question; and I do not anticipate any essential differences. Some men do not see anything. Some men look straight in the face of the facts and see nothing but atmospheric air. Some men are so hopelessly and contentedly provincial that they can not see the rest of the world; but they do not constitute a large or influential minority even. You must listen to them with indulgence, and then absolutely ignore them. They have a right to talk, but they have no right to affect our conduct. Indeed, if I were in your place I would encourage them to talk. Nothing chills folly like exposure to the air, and these gentlemen ought to be encouraged to hire large halls, and the more people they can get to hear them the safer the country will be.

The judgment of America is a very hard-headed judgment. The judgment of America is not based upon sentiment; it is based upon facts, and I want to say to you that nothing has encouraged me more upon this trip that I have been making than the consciousness that America is awake to the facts. I do not want to say anything disrespectful about any newspaper, but it is astonishing how little some newspaper editors know, and I would like from some of them a candid expression of the impression they have got from what has happened since I left Washington. They probably will give it

their own interpretation, but they will not (and this ought to comfort them if they are moral men), they will not deceive anybody. From the time I left Washington until now I have just had this feeling: The country is up; there is not a man who is not awake; there is not a man who does not realize what the situation is and what we ought to do in order to meet the situation.

The strength of America is in that part of it which is not vocal. The voice of America is a very still but a very powerful voice. My constant endeavor in Washington is to hear that voice. I have often said that it has seemed to me a very fortunate circumstance that all the living rooms of the White House are on the side from which, if you look out of the windows, you can not see the city of Washington. You see instead the broad spaces of Virginia across the river, and your imagination has free flight from those free spaces to those great stretches of country where the quiet people on the farms and the busy people in the factories and the absorbed men in the offices are realizing and living the life of America; and from out those great national areas the people seem to send in at those southern windows of the Executive Mansion their message of reassurance. That is where I listen for the still voice of America, and I believe that that voice has brought to me in unmistaken accents the resolution of this country to do whatever it is adequate and necessary to do in order that no man might question the honor or invade the integrity or disregard the rights of the United States of America.

Business Men's League of St. Louis, Jefferson Hotel, February 3, 1916.

I CAN not stand here without remembering the last time that I had the pleasure of standing in this spot. Your Civic League had paid me the compliment of supposing that I knew something about the government of

cities, and I undertook at their invitation to be very instructive and to lead you in the way in which you should go with regard to a new charter for the city of St. Louis. I hope that you have forgotten that speech. I say I hope that you have forgotten it because I had forgotten it myself until somebody unexpectedly produced a copy of it and cited opinions in it from some of which I had departed. It is just as well to shed your speeches as you go.

As I think of the trip that I am now making my own chief regret about it is the number of speeches with which I am expected to be loaded so that I can go off at any time; and yet I am expected to speak exclusively of the preparation of the Nation for national defense, and, of course, I do that with a great deal of ardor and zest, because that is the most pressing and immediate question ahead of us. One must first emphasize the things which admit of no delay, and yet there are many things that I would like to talk to a company like this about. Not only is it necessary that we should prepare, gentlemen, to mobilize the forces of the Nation if necessary for the defense of the country,—if it should unhappily, become necessary to use them for that purpose,—but it is also necessary to mobilize the economic forces of this country better than they have ever been mobilized before for the service of the world after this great war is over.

I am not looking forward to war; I am looking forward with the greatest ardor and interest to peace and to the services which this country may render the rest of the world in the times of peace and healing and restoration which will undoubtedly follow this great struggle. On the surface, gentlemen, there are many signs of bitterness and passion, but only on the surface. Men who are in contest with one another can sometimes hate one another, but no great people ever hated another great people. I believe that underlying all the contests of the world there is a true instinct of friend-

ship among the peoples of the world, provided that the contests are righteous contests based upon merit and efficiency and not based upon the seeking of unfair advantage. America will be infinitely efficient in the world of business if she is punctiliously righteous in the field of business, and it is with the greatest interest and hope that I have seen the many movements abroad in this country, movements which may be illustrated by one, though that not the chief one.

You know how the advertising men of this country have banded themselves together to see that advertisements speak the truth. Now, that is an index of what is happening in America. We have upon some occasions drawn it a little strong with regard to our individual business; now we are beginning to realize that the real efficacy is in the facts as they are, because they are going to be uncovered sooner or later anyhow in the process of business. You can not sell a thing that is not what you represent it to be without your customers ultimately finding out that it is not what you represent it to be. So that even upon an instinct of preservation, if you put it upon no higher plane, you had better anticipate the facts when you see them coming and not get caught by them. The truth is stronger and mightier than any other influence in the world in the long run.

America is now going to be called out into an international position such as she has never occupied before. For some reason that I have never understood, America has been shy about going out into the great field of international competition. She has sought by one process or another, incomprehensible to me as a policy, to shut her doors against matching the wits of America with the wits of the world. I am willing to match the business capacity and the moral strength of American business men with, and to back them, against all the world.

We have left it until very recently to foreign corporations to conduct the greater part of the banking business in foreign bills of exchange. We have seemed to hold

off from handling the very machinery by which we are to serve the rest of the world by our commerce and our industry. And now, with the rest of the world impaired in its economic efficiency, it is necessary that we should put ourselves at the service of trade and finance in all parts of the world. That is one of the reasons, gentlemen, why we are trying—trying so diligently; trying so patiently—to avoid being drawn into this great struggle now going on on the other side of the sea. We must keep our resources and our thoughts and our strength untouched by that flame in order that they may be in a condition to serve the restoration of the world, the healing processes, the processes which will put the world upon a footing of peace, which, in the providence of God, we all pray may last for many a generation after. The world will not endure, I believe, another struggle like that which is going on now. It can not endure it. The heart of man can not stand it. And I believe that after this war is over we shall have been set further forward toward permanent peace than perhaps any other process would have set us. Man is slow to learn; he has to have it burned in; but when it is burned in the lesson is finally comprehended.

I believe that the message which all men such as sit in this room to-day ought to carry at their hearts is the message of preparation for peace. Unhappily, you have have to tread another way to approach that preparation. Unhappily, the conditions of peace are not established by us but established by the rest of the world. We do not have to defend ourselves against ourselves; we may have to defend ourselves against the invasion of those processes of passion which are now shaking the whole round globe with their disturbance. We must be ready to see that America shall remain untouched, because America is too valuable to the world now to allow herself to be touched by this disturbance.

When we have settled this great question, as we shall presently settle it, of reasonable and rational and Ameri-

can preparation for national defense, then we shall talk about these other matters. Then we shall set our house in order. Then we shall see the facts and act upon the facts. That is the reason that some of us have had to change our minds about certain things, gentlemen. I have changed my mind, for example, about the advisability of having a tariff board, and I have done it for this reason: Before this war began and the universal sweep of economic change set in, I believed, and I think I was justified in believing, that a tariff board was meant merely to keep alive the question of protection. Now the sweep of this change has been so universal that an unprejudiced, non-partisan board is absolutely necessary in order to find how far in what way the facts have been changed. Because we can not pretend that any man now living can predict or foresee or guide the policy of the United States with regard to her legislation in economic matters. We need the facts, and we need them from the most unprejudiced and undisturbed quarters that we can get them from.

Personally I look forward to the establishment of a tariff board with some misgivings, because I will have to choose the men that make it; and I tell you that men without prepossessions are hard to find, and when you find them they are generally empty of everything else. Gentlemen who have not done a lot of thinking and formed some very definite convictions are not very serviceable in public affairs; and, knowing that I have my due quota of prejudices and prepossessions myself and that I hold even my untested convictions in fighting spirit, I am not sure that I would be a suitable member of a tariff board. Yet I shall have to choose suitable members for a tariff board, for I feel great confidence that we shall have one, and I want the best counsel I can get; I want the best guidance I can get in the choosing of the men who shall make it up. If I make mistakes, they will not be mistakes of intention but mistakes of lack of information. It is very interesting how im-

portant men feel after they get put on a Federal board. They are thereafter hardly approachable. They are jealous of nothing so much as being spoken to too familiarly by the President, who seems to be regarded as some sort of suspicious political influence. You do not know how interesting it is, gentlemen, to be regarded as the positive pole of a political battery, throwing out all sorts of electrifying influences which are supposed to be meant to increase the vitality of Democratic politics. I do not think that Democratic politics needs any increase of vitality.

You will see that I am merely uttering to you the casual thoughts of an unprepared address, but it always stimulates me to say some of the things that are in my mind in face of a company like this. I have been in St. Louis so often and have always enjoyed my visits here so much, that I have had the pleasure of making a great many friends here. When I arrived in Kansas City the other day, the reception committee said, "Mr. President, this is your fifth visit here." "Yes," I said, "my fifth visit since you began counting." And I made a good many visits to St. Louis before you began counting; sometimes merely as a Princeton man interested in the Princeton crowd, and sometimes upon purely private errands, but always with the renewed pleasure of meeting the substantial and thoughtful men who here vitalize the life of the business world of America.

There is one thing, gentlemen, I want you to relieve yourselves of, and that is the suspicion that there is a Middle West as distinguished from the rest of America. As I say, I have sampled your quality a great many times and I have never found your quality to be anything but thoroughly American, suitable for any part of the continent. The distance between you and the Pacific coast or the Atlantic coast is not a distance that segregates you or makes you different in sympathy and in impulse; on the contrary, standing somewhat nearer

the middle of the continent than some other people, your horizon is the more symmetrical.

I have come out to appeal to America, not because I doubted what America felt, but because I thought America wanted the satisfaction of uttering what she felt and of letting the whole world know that she was a unit in respect of every question of national dignity and national safety.

THE RIGHT OF AMERICANS TO TRAVEL IN TIME OF WAR

LETTER TO SENATOR WILLIAM J. STONE, WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 24, 1916. FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FILES.

February 24, 1916.

MY DEAR SENATOR:

I very warmly appreciate your kind and frank letter of to-day, and feel that it calls for an equally frank reply.

You are right in assuming that I shall do everything in my power to keep the United States out of war. I think the country will feel no uneasiness about my course in that respect. Through many anxious months I have striven for that object, amidst difficulties more manifold than can have been apparent upon the surface; and so far I have succeeded. I do not doubt that I shall continue to succeed. The course which the central European powers have announced their intention of following in the future with regard to undersea warfare seems for the moment to threaten insuperable obstacles, but its apparent meaning is so manifestly inconsistent with explicit assurances recently given us by those powers with regard to their treatment of merchant vessels on the high seas that I must believe that explanations will presently ensue which will put a different aspect upon it. We have had no reason to question their good faith or their fidelity to their promises in the past, and I, for one, feel confident that we shall have none in the future.

But in any event our duty is clear. No nation, no group of nations, has the right while war is in progress to alter or disregard the principles which all nations

have agreed upon in mitigation of the horrors and sufferings of war; and if the clear rights of American citizens should ever unhappily be abridged or denied by any such action, we should, it seems to me, have in honor no choice as to what our own course should be.

For my own part, I can not consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the nation is involved. We covet peace, and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor. To forbid our people to exercise their rights for fear we might be called upon to vindicate them would be a deep humiliation indeed. It would be an implicit, all but an explicit, acquiescence in the violation of the rights of mankind everywhere and of whatever nation or allegiance. It would be a deliberate abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesmen even amidst the turmoil of war for the law and the right. It would make everything this Government has attempted and everything that it has achieved during this terrible struggle of nations meaningless and futile.

It is important to reflect that if in this instance we allowed expediency to take the place of principle, the door would inevitably be opened to still further concessions. Once accept a single abatement of right and many other humiliations would certainly follow, and the whole fine fabric of international law might crumble under our hands piece by piece. What we are contending for in this matter is of the very essence of the things that have made America a sovereign nation. She cannot yield them without conceding her own impotency as a nation and making virtual surrender of her independent position among the nations of the world.

I am speaking, my dear Senator, in deep solemnity, without heat, with a clear consciousness of the high responsibilities of my office, and as your sincere and devoted friend. If we should unhappily differ, we

shall differ as friends; but where issues so momentous as these are involved we must, just because we are friends, speak our minds without reservation.

Faithfully yours,

Woodrow Wilson.

Hon. William J. Stone,
United States Senate.

EUROPEAN WAR—"VALOR STRIKES ONLY WHEN IT IS RIGHT TO STRIKE"

ADDRESS AT THE GRIDIRON DINNER, WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 26, 1916. FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FILES.

I HAVE very little to say to-night except to express my warm appreciation of the invariable courtesy of this club and of the reception you have so generously accorded me. I find that I am seldom tempted to say anything nowadays unless somebody starts something, and to-night nobody has started anything.

Your talk, Mr. Toastmaster, has been a great deal about candidacy for the presidency. It is not a new feeling on my part, but one which I entertain with a greater intensity than formerly, that a man who seeks the Presidency of the United States for anything that it will bring to him is an audacious fool. The responsibilities of the office ought to sober a man even before he approaches it. One of the difficulties of the office seldom appreciated, I dare say, is that it is very difficult to think while so many people are talking, and particularly while so many people are talking in a way that obscures counsel and is entirely off the point.

The point in national affairs, gentlemen, never lies along the lines of expediency. It always rests in the field of principle. The United States was not founded upon any principle of expediency; it was founded upon a profound principle of human liberty and of humanity, and whenever it bases its policy upon any other foundations than those it builds on the sand and not upon solid rock. It seems to me that the most enlightening thing a man can do is suggested by something which the Vice-President said to-night. He complained that he found men who, when their attention was called to the signs of spring, did not see the blue heaven, did not see

the movement of the free clouds, did not think of the great spaces of the quiet continent, but thought only of some immediate and pressing piece of business. It seems to me that if you do not think of the things that lie beyond and away from and disconnected from this scene in which we attempt to think and conclude, you will inevitably be led astray. I would a great deal rather know what they are talking about around quiet firesides all over this country than what they are talking about in the cloakrooms of Congress. I would a great deal rather know what the men on the trains and by the wayside and in the shops and on the farms are thinking about and yearning for than hear any of the vociferous proclamations of policy which it is so easy to hear and so easy to read by picking up any scrap of printed paper. There is only one way to hear these things, and that is constantly to go back to the fountains of American action. Those fountains are not to be found in any recently discovered sources.

Senator Harding was saying just now that we ought to try when we are a hundred million strong to act in the same simplicity of principle that our forefathers acted in when we were three million strong. I heard somebody say—I do not know the exact statistics—that the present population of the United States is one hundred and three millions. If there are three million thinking the same things that that original three million thought, the hundred million will be saved for an illustrious future. They were ready to stake everything for an idea, and that idea was not expediency, but justice. And the infinite difficulty of public affairs, gentlemen, is not to discover the signs of the heavens and the directions of the wind, but to square the things you do by the not simple but complicated standards of justice. Justice has nothing to do with expediency. Justice has nothing to do with any temporary standard whatever. It is rooted and grounded in the fundamental instincts of humanity.

America ought to keep out of this war. She ought to keep out of this war at the sacrifice of everything except this single thing upon which her character and history are founded, her sense of humanity and justice. If she sacrifices that, she has ceased to be America; she has ceased to entertain and to love the traditions which have made us proud to be Americans, and when we go about seeking safety at the expense of humanity, then I for one will believe that I have always been mistaken in what I have conceived to be the spirit of American history.

You never can tell your direction except by long measurements. You can not establish a line by two posts; you have got to have three at least to know whether they are straight with anything, and the longer your line the more certain your measurement. There is only one way in which to determine how the future of the United States is going to be projected, and that is by looking back and seeing which way the lines ran which led up to the present moment of power and of opportunity. There is no doubt about that. There is no question what the roll of honor in America is. The roll of honor consists of the names of men who have squared their conduct by ideals of duty. There is no one else upon the roster; there is no one else whose name we care to remember when we measure things upon a national scale. And I wish that whenever an impulse of impatience comes upon us, whenever an impulse to settle a thing some short way tempts us, we might close the door and take down some old stories of what American idealists and statesmen did in the past, and not let any counsel in that does not sound in the authentic voice of American tradition. Then we shall be certain what the lines of the future are, because we shall know we are steering by the lines of the past. We shall know that no temporary convenience, no temporary expediency, will lead us either to be rash or to be cowardly. I would be just as much ashamed to be

rash as I would to be a coward. Valor is self-respecting. Valor is circumspect. Valor strikes only when it is right to strike. Valor withholds itself from all small implications and entanglements and waits for the great opportunity when the sword will flash as if it carried the light of heaven upon its blade.

HASTENS THE HOUSE VOTE ON THE RIGHT OF AMERICANS TO TRAVEL IN TIME OF WAR

LETTER TO REPRESENTATIVE EDWARD W. POU, WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 29, 1916. FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FILES.

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON,
February 29, 1916.

MY DEAR MR. POU:

Inasmuch as I learn that Mr. Henry, the Chairman of the Committee on Rules, is absent in Texas, I take the liberty of calling your attention, as ranking member of the Committee, to a matter of grave concern to the country which can, I believe, be handled under the rules of the House, only by that Committee.

The report that there are divided counsels in Congress in regard to the foreign policy of the Government is being made industrious use of in foreign capitals. I believe that report to be false, but so long as it is anywhere credited it cannot fail to do the greatest harm and expose the country to the most serious risks. I therefore feel justified in asking that your Committee will permit me to urge an early vote upon the resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantmen which have recently been so much talked about, in order that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for full public discussion and action upon them and that all doubts and conjectures may be swept away and our foreign relations once more cleared of damaging misunderstandings.

The matter is of so grave importance and lies so clearly within the field of Executive initiative that I venture to hope that your Committee will not think that I am taking unwarranted liberty in making this suggestion as to the business of the House, and I very earnestly commend it to their immediate consideration.

EFFECTS OF RUMORS ON MEXICAN POLICY

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT WILSON TO THE PRESS, MARCH 25, 1916. FROM THE NEW YORK "TIMES," MARCH 26, 1916.

AS has already been announced, the expedition into Mexico was ordered under an agreement with the *de facto* Government of Mexico for the single purpose of taking the bandit Villa, whose forces had actually invaded the territory of the United Sates, and is in no sense intended as an invasion of that republic or as an infringement of its sovereignty.

I have, therefore, asked the several news services to be good enough to assist the Administration in keeping this view of the expedition constantly before both the people of this country and the distressed and sensitive people of Mexico, who are very susceptible, indeed, to impressions received from the American press not only, but also very ready to believe that those impressions proceed from the views and objects of our Government itself. Such conclusions, it must be said, are not unnatural, because the main, if not the only, source of information for the people on both sides of the border is the public press of the United States.

In order to avoid the creation of erroneous and dangerous impressions in this way I have called upon the several news agencies to use the utmost care not to give news stories regarding this expedition the color of war, to withhold stories of troop movements and military preparations which might be given that interpretation, and to refrain from publishing unverified rumors of unrest in Mexico.

I feel that it is most desirable to impress upon both our own people and the people of Mexico the fact that

the expedition is simply a necessary punitive measure, aimed solely at the elimination of the marauders who raided Columbus and who infest an unprotected district near the border, which they use as a base in making attacks upon the lives and property of our citizens within our own territory. It is the purpose of our commanders to co-operate in every possible way with the forces of General Carranza in removing this cause of irritation to both Governments, and retire from Mexican territory so soon as that object is accomplished.

It is my duty to warn the people of the United States that there are persons all along the border who are actively engaged in originating and giving as wide currency as they can to rumors of the most sensational and disturbing sort, which are wholly unjustified by the facts. The object of this traffic in falsehood is obvious. It is to create intolerable friction between the Government of the United States and the *de facto* Government of Mexico for the purpose of bringing about intervention in the interest of certain American owners of Mexican properties. This object can not be attained so long as sane and honorable men are in control of this Government, but very serious conditions may be created, unnecessary bloodshed may result, and the relations between the two republics may be very much embarrassed.

The people of the United States should know the sinister and unscrupulous influences that are afoot, and should be on their guard against crediting any story coming from the border; and those who disseminate the news should make it a matter of patriotism and of conscience to test the source and authenticity of every report they receive from that quarter.

THE PURSUIT OF VILLA

STATEMENT RELEASED TO THE PRESS, MARCH 26, 1916. FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FILES

AS has already been announced, the expedition into Mexico was ordered under an agreement with the *de facto* government of Mexico for the single purpose of taking the bandit Villa, whose forces had actually invaded the territory of the United States, and is in no sense intended as an invasion of that Republic or as an infringement of its sovereignty. I have therefore asked the several news services to be good enough to assist the Administration in keeping this view of the expedition constantly before both the people of this country and the distressed and sensitive people of Mexico, who are very susceptible indeed to impressions received from the American press not only, but also very ready to believe that those impressions proceed from the views and objects of our Government itself. Such conclusions, it must be said, are not unnatural, because the main, if not the only source of information for the people on both sides of the border is the public press of the United States. In order to avoid the creation of erroneous and dangerous impressions in this way, I have called upon the several news agencies to use the utmost care not to give news stories regarding this expedition the color of war, to withhold stories of troop movements and military preparations which might be given that interpretation, and to refrain from publishing unverified rumors of unrest in Mexico. I feel that it is most desirable to impress upon both our own people and the people of Mexico the fact that the expedition is simply a necessary punitive measure, aimed solely at the elimination of the marauders who raided Columbus and who infest an unprotected district

near the border which they use as a base in making attacks upon the lives and property of our citizens within our own territory. It is the purpose of our commanders to co-operate in every possible way with the forces of General Carranza in removing this cause of irritation to both governments and to retire from Mexican territory so soon as that object is accomplished. It is my duty to warn the people of the United States that there are persons all along the border who are actively engaged in originating and giving as wide currency as they can to rumors of the most sensational and disturbing sort which are wholly unjustified by the facts. The object of this traffic in falsehood is obvious. It is to create intolerable friction between the Government of the United States and the *de facto* Government of Mexico, for the purpose of bringing about intervention in the interest of certain American owners of Mexican properties. This object can not be attained so long as sane and honorable men are in control of this Government, but very serious conditions may be created, unnecessary bloodshed may result, and the relations between the two republics may be very much embarrassed. The people of the United States should know the sinister and unscrupulous influences that are afoot and should be on their guard against crediting any story coming from the border; and those who disseminate the news should make it a matter of patriotism and of conscience to test the source and authenticity of every report they receive from that quarter.

HIGH DEVOTION OF MEN OF SCIENCE

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE UNITED STATES COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY, WASHINGTON, APRIL 6, 1916. FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FILES.

I HAD another reason for asking to come last. I remember reading with appreciation in the preface of a volume of essays written by a very witty English writer a passage to this effect: The pleasure with which a man reads his own books is largely dependent upon how much of them has been written by somebody else; and I have found that my enjoyment of making speeches after dinner is almost directly in proportion to the amount of inspiration that I can derive from others.

It was manifestly impossible for me to make such preparation for addressing you to-night as I should have wished to make in order to show my very great respect and admiration for this Service of the Government. I can only say that I have come here for the purpose of expressing that admiration. I have been very much interested in the speeches that I have heard to-night, not only because of what they contained but also because of many of the implications which were to be drawn from them. I was very much interested indeed in the excellent address of the representative of the free and admirable Republic of Switzerland. He reminded me of what we must constantly remember, our very great intellectual debt to Switzerland, as well as to the many other countries from which we draw so much of our vitality and so much of the scientific work which has been accomplished in America.

As he was speaking, I was reminded (if there are Pennsylvanians present, I hope they will forgive this story) of a toast mischievously offered at a banquet

in Philadelphia by a gentleman who was not himself a Pennsylvanian. He said he proposed the memory of the three most distinguished Pennsylvanians, Benjamin Franklin, of Massachusetts; James Wilson, of Scotland, and Albert Gallatin, of Switzerland. I dare say that in many American communities similar toasts could very truly and with historical truth be offered. And I myself had the privilege of sitting under one of the distinguished Swiss scholars to whom reference was made, Dr. Arnold Guyot, under whom I pretended to study geology. Doctor Guyot was not responsible for its not being carried beyond the stage of pretense.

I feel myself in a certain sense in familiar company to-night because a very great part of my life has been spent in association with men of science. I have often wished, particularly since I entered public life, that there was some moral process parallel to the process of triangulation, so that the whereabouts, intellectually and spiritually, of some persons could be discovered with more particularity. Yet as I listened to the Secretary of Commerce, I suspected that he was priding himself upon the discovery of a process by which he had discovered the whereabouts of a great many committees of Congress and a great many other persons connected with the process of appropriating public monies. I have a certain sympathy with those committees of Congress which in investigating the Coast and Geodetic Survey have found that the Superintendent had the great advantage of knowing all about the service and they the great disadvantage of knowing nothing about it, because, as I have said, I have spent a great part of my life in association with men of science and, never having been a man of science, I have at least learned the discretion of keeping my opinions on scientific subjects to myself.

I have had association particularly with the very exact and singularly well informed brother of a distinguished gentleman present. General Scott has a

brother who is a member of the faculty of Princeton University, and Professor William B. Scott is one of the most provoking men I have ever known. He not only asserts opinions and delivers himself of information upon almost every subject, but the provoking thing about him is he generally knows what he is talking about. A good talker who volunteers opinions on all subjects ought to be expected in fairness to his fellowmen to make a certain large and generous portion of mistakes, because you can at least catch him napping, but Professor Scott is one of those men who successfully,—I have sometimes told him I suspected adroitly,—avoided the pitfalls of eminent conversationalists like himself; but association with such men has taught me a very great degree of discretion and, therefore, I am not going to express any opinion whatever about the work of the Coast and Geodetic Survey. But I am going to give myself the privilege, for it is a real privilege, of saying this:

This is one of the few branches of the public service in which the motives of those who are engaged cannot be questioned. There is something very intensely appealing to the imagination in the intellectual ardor which men bestow upon scientific inquiry. No social advantage can be gained by it. No pecuniary advantage can be gained by it. In most cases no personal distinction can be gained by it. It is one of the few pursuits in life which gets all its momentum from pure intellectual ardor, from a love of finding out what the truth is, regardless of all human circumstances,—as if the mind wished to put itself into intimate communication with the mind of the Almighty itself. There is something in scientific inquiry which is eminently spiritual in its nature. It is the spirit of man wishing to square himself accurately with his environment, not only, but also wishing to get at the intimate interpretations of his relationship to his environment; and when you think of what the Geodetic Survey has been

attempting to do,—to make a sort of profile picture, a sort of profile sketch, of the life of a nation, so far as that life is physically sustained—you can see that what we have been doing has been, so to say, to test and outline the whole underpinning of a great civilization, and just as the finding of all the outlines of the earth's surface that underlie the sea is a process of making the pathways for the great intercourse which has bound nations together, so the work that we do upon the continent itself is the work of interpreting and outlining the conditions which surround the life of a great nation.

I can illustrate it in this way, the way in which it appeals to my imagination: I have always maintained that it was a great mistake to begin a history of the United States intended for beginners by putting at the front of the book a topographical map of this continent, or at any rate of that portion of it which is occupied by the United States, because if you begin with that, you seem to begin to deal with children when you deal with the first settlers. They knew nothing about it. They expected to find the Pacific over the slope of the Alleghanies. They expected to find some Eldorado at the sources of the first great river whose mouth they entered upon the coast. They went groping for the outlines of the continent like blind men feeling their way through a jungle. They were as big men as we, as intelligent; they had as full a grasp upon the knowledge of their time as we have upon the knowledge of ours; but set the youngster in the school to watch these men groping, and he will get the impression that they were children and pygmies. That is not the way to begin the history of the United States. You will understand it only if you comprehend how little of what the work of this department of the Government, for example, has since disclosed, was known to those then engaged in this great romantic enterprise of peopling

a new continent and building up a new civilization in a new world.

So that you have the picture of a service like this lifting the curtain that before that time rested upon all the great spaces of nature. You remember how in the early history of Virginia a little company of gentlemen moved by a sort of scientific curiosity, and yet moved by a spirit of adventure still more, penetrated no further than to some of the unknown fastnesses of the Alleghany Mountains and were thereafter known as the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe,—given a sort of knighthood of adventure because they went a little way upon the same quest upon which you gentlemen have gone a great way.

So when I stand in the presence of scientific men I seem to stand in the presence of those who are given the privilege, the singular privilege, the almost contradictory privilege, of following a vision of the mind with open, physical eyes; making real the things that have been conjectural; making substantial the things that have been intangible.

And as the Secretary of Commerce has said, there is a great human side to these things that you are doing. You are making it safe to bind the world together with those great shuttles that we call ships that move in and out and weave the fabric of international intercourse. You are providing the machinery by which the web of humanity is woven. It is only by these imaginative conceptions, it is only by visions of the mind, that we are inspired. If we thought about each other too much, our little jealousies, our rivalries, our smallnesses, our weaknesses, there would be no courage left in our hearts.

Sometimes when the day is done and the consciousness of the sordid struggle is upon you, you go to bed wondering if the sun will seem bright in the morning, the day worth while, but you have only to sweep these temporary things away and to look back and see man-

kind working its way, though never so slowly, up the slow steps which it has climbed to know itself and to know nature and nature's God, and to know the destiny of mankind, to have all these little things seem like the mere mists that creep along the ground and have all the courage come back to you by lifting your eyes to those blue heavens where rests the serenity of thought.

"THESE ARE DAYS THAT SEARCH MEN'S HEARTS"

ADDRESS AT JEFFERSON DAY BANQUET, WILLARD HOTEL, WASHINGTON, APRIL 13, 1916. FROM THE "COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL CHRONICLE," APRIL 5, 1916, VOL. 102, P. 1406.

IT is a spirit that we assemble to render honor to to-night, and the only way that we can render honor to a spirit is by showing that we are ourselves prepared to exemplify it. The immortality of Thomas Jefferson does not lie in any one of his achievements, or in the series of his achievements, but in his attitude toward mankind and the conception which he sought to realize in action of the service allowed by America to the rest of the world.

One of the things that have seemed to me most to limit the usefulness of the Republican party has been its provincial spirit, and one of the things which has immortalized the influence of Thomas Jefferson has been that his was the spirit of humanity, exemplified upon the field of America. Thomas Jefferson was a great leader of men because he understood and interpreted the spirits of men. Some men can be led by their interests; all men can be led by their affections. Some men can be led by covetousness; all men can be led by their visions of the mind.

It is not a circumstance without significance that Jefferson felt, more than any other American of his time except Benjamin Franklin, his close kinship with like thinking spirits everywhere else in the civilized world. His comradeship was as intimate with the thinkers of France as with the frontiersman of America; and this rather awkward, rather diffident man carried about

with him a sort of type of what all men should wish to be who loved liberty and sought to lead their fellowmen along those difficult paths of achievement.

The only way we can honor Thomas Jefferson is by illustrating his spirit and following his example. His example was an example of organization and concerted action for the rights of men, first in America and then by America's example everywhere in the world. The thing that interested Jefferson is the only thing that ought to interest me. No American, who has caught the true historic enthusiasm of this great country that we love, can be proud of it merely because of its accumulated great material wealth and power. The pride comes in when we conceive how that power ought to be used.

As I have listened to some of the speeches tonight, the great feeling has come into my heart that we are better prepared than we ever were before to show how America can lead the way along the paths of light. Take the single matter of the financial statistics, of which we have only recently become precisely informed. The mere increase in the resources of the national banks of the country in the last twelve months exceeds the total resources of the Deutscher Reichsbank, and the aggregate resources of the national banks of the United States exceed by three thousand millions the aggregate resources of the Bank of England, the Bank of France, the Bank of Russia, the Reichsbank of Berlin, the Bank of Netherlands, the Bank of Switzerland, and the Bank of Japan.

Under the provincial conceptions of the Republican party this would have been impossible. Under the world conceptions of those of us who are proud to follow the tradition of Thomas Jefferson, it has been realized in fact, and the question we have to put to ourselves is this: "How are we going to use this power?"

There are only two theories of government. One

is that power should be centered in the control of trustees, who should determine the administration of all economic and political affairs. That is the theory of the Republican party. A carefully hand-picked body of trustees. The other theory is that of government by responsible and responsive servants of the great body of citizens, able to understand the common interests because in direct and sympathetic touch with the common desire and the common need. The peculiarity of those who think in the terms of trusteeship is that their thinking always squares with the preferences of the powerful, and never squares with the lessons of history.

I was talking one day with a gentleman who was expounding to me the very familiar idea that somebody (I dare say he would prefer to name the persons) should act as guardians and trustees for the people for the neighboring Republic of Mexico. I said: "I defy you to show a single example in history in which liberty and prosperity were ever handed down from above. Prosperity for the great masses of mankind has never sprung out of the soil of privilege. Prosperity for the great masses of mankind has never been created by the beneficence of privilege.

"Prosperity and right, prosperity and liberty, have never come by favor; they have always come by right. And the only competent expounders of rights are the men who covet the opportunity to exercise them. When I see the crust even so much as slightly broken over the heads of a population which has always been directed by a board of trustees, I make up my mind that I will thrust not only my arm but my heart in the aperture, and that only by crushing every ounce of power that I can use shall any man ever close that opening up again. Wherever we use our power we must use it with this conception always in mind, that we are using it for the benefit of the persons who are chiefly interested and not for our own benefit."

So by such process and by such processes alone, can we illustrate and honor the spirit of Thomas Jefferson. You cannot draw examples from the deeds of Thomas Jefferson, who presided over a little nation only just then struggling for recognition among the nations of the world, without material power, without the respect of foreign nations, without the opportunities of wealth, without the experiences of long periods of trial. There is no parallel in the circumstances of the time of Thomas Jefferson with the circumstances of the time in which we live; and my pride is that in the three years in which we have been privileged to serve this great and trustful people we have devoted ourselves to the constructive execution of the promises we so solemnly made.

Mr. Glass, with the pleasing modesty which has always characterized him, sought to show that his was not the statesmanlike mind that conceived one of the greatest achievements of the last three years; there is not going to be any quarrel as to where the credit belongs. The thing that is going to strike the imagination of the country is that the Democratic party, without picking out the men or discriminating the praise, produced the constructive statesmanship which the Republican party has not in long generations produced.

It has spent its time harking back to a single outworn economic error to which its intellectual armory apparently is limited, while we have gone forward in the spirit of a new age to conceive the methods by which the new necessity of civilization shall be met. We have conceived it in such spirit and in such method that for the first time since the Republican party and their predecessors destroyed the merchant marine of the United States we have turned the thoughts and the energies and the conquering genius of the business men of America to the great field of the business of the world at large. We have struck the trammels of provincialism away from them and they are beginning to

see the great world in which their genius shall henceforth play the part that other nations have hitherto usurped and monopolized.

Frankly, I am not interested in personal ambitions. May I not admit even in this company that I am not enthusiastic over a mere party success? I like to see men take fire of great progressive ideas, and, banding themselves together like a body of thoughtful brothers, put their shoulders together and lift some part of the great load that has depressed humanity.

This country has not the time, it is not now in the temper, to listen to the violent, to the passionate, to the ambitious. This country demands service which is essentially and fundamentally non-partisan. Some gentlemen will learn this soon, some will learn it late, but they will all learn it so thoroughly that it will be digested. This country demands at this time as it never did before absolutely disinterested and non-partisan service.

And I do not now refer merely to foreign affairs, where everybody professes to be non-partisan. I refer just as much to domestic affairs, for in saying non-partisan I do not mean merely as between parties and political organizations, but also and more fundamentally as between classes and interests.

One of the things that it has been just as interesting to prove as anything else that we have proved in the last three years is that we are not partisans as against legitimate business, no matter how great; that we are not fighting anybody that is doing legitimate business, but we are fighting for everybody that wants to do legitimate business.

And we are not partisans as between the rich and the poor, as between the employer and the employee, but if it be possible we are partisans in our thinking, and would, if we could, draw them together to see the interests of the country in the same terms and express them in the same concerted purposes. Any

man who fights for any class in the country is now fighting against the interests of America and the welfare of the world.

We are non-partisans as between interests, as between political ambitions, as between those who desire power and those who have it. For power will never again in America, if I know anything of its temper, long be intrusted to those who use it in their own behalf.

Are you ready for the test? God forbid that we should ever become directly or indirectly embroiled in quarrels not of our own choosing, and that do not affect what we feel responsible to defend; but if we should ever be drawn in, are you ready to go in only where the interests of America are coincident with the interests of mankind and to draw out the moment the interest centers in America and is narrowed from the wide circle of humanity? Are you ready for the test? Have you courage to go in? Have you the courage to come out according as the balance is disturbed or readjusted for the interest of humanity?

If you are heady, you have inherited the spirit of Jefferson, who recognized the men in France and the men in Germany, who were doing the liberal thinking of their day, and just as much citizens of the great world of liberty as he was himself, and who was ready in every conception he had to join hands across the water or across any other barrier with those who held those high conceptions of liberty which had brought the United States into existence. When we lose that sympathy we lose the titles of our own heritage. So long as we keep them we can go through the world with lifted head and with the consciousness of those who do not serve themselves except as they conceive that they have purified their hearts for the service of mankind.

These are days that search men's hearts. These are days that discredit selfish speech; these are days

that ought to quiet the ill-considered counsel. These are solemn days, when all the moral standards of mankind are to be fully tried out. And the responsibility is with us,—with us Democrats—because the power for the time being is ours to say whether America under our leadership shall hold these eternal balances even or shall let some malign influence depress one balance and lift the other, till we shall look around and say: "Who stands for the old visions of liberty and whose eyes are still open to those spiritual images conceived at our birth?"

SUBMARINE WARFARE

SECRETARY LANSING TO AMBASSADOR JAMES W. GERARD, APRIL 18, 1916. FROM THE "AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW," X, SUPPLEMENT, PP. 186-190.

YOU are instructed to deliver to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs a communication reading as follows:

I did not fail to transmit immediately, by telegraph, to my Government Your Excellency's note of the 10th instant in regard to certain attacks by German submarines, and particularly in regard to the disastrous explosion which on March 24, last, wrecked the French steamship *Sussex* in the English Channel. I have now the honor to deliver, under instruction from my Government, the following reply to Your Excellency:

Information now in the possession of the Government of the United States fully establishes the facts in the case of the *Sussex,* and the inferences which my Government has drawn from that information it regards as confirmed by the circumstances set forth in Your Excellency's note of the 10th instant. On the 24th of March, 1916, at about 2.50 o'clock in the afternoon, the unarmed steamer *Sussex,* with 325 or more passengers on board, among whom were a number of American citizens, was torpedoed while crossing from Folkestone to Dieppe. The *Sussex* had never been armed; was a vessel known to be habitually used only for the conveyance of passengers across the English Channel; and was not following the route taken by troop ships or supply ships. About 80 of her passengers, noncombatants of all ages and sexes, including citizens of the United States, were killed or injured.

A careful, detailed, and scrupulously impartial inves-

tigation by naval and military officers of the United States has conclusively established the fact that the *Sussex* was torpedoed without warning or summons to surrender and that the torpedo by which she was struck was of German manufacture. In the view of the Government of the United States these facts from the first made the conclusion that the torpedo was fired by a German submarine unavoidable. It now considers that conclusion substantiated by the statements of Your Excellency's note. A full statement of the facts upon which the Government of the United States has based its conclusion is inclosed.

The Government of the United States, after having given careful consideration to the note of the Imperial Government of the 10th of April, regrets to state that the impression made upon it by the statements, and proposals contained in that note is that the Imperial Government has failed to appreciate the gravity of the situation which has resulted, not alone from the attack on the *Sussex* but from the whole method and character of submarine warfare as disclosed by the unrestrained practice of the commanders of German undersea craft during the past twelvemonth and more in the indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations. If the sinking of the *Sussex* had been an isolated case the Government of the United States might find it possible to hope that the officer who was responsible for that act had wilfully violated his orders or had been criminally negligent in taking none of the precautions they prescribed, and that the ends of justice might be satisfied by imposing upon him an adequate punishment, coupled with a formal disavowal of the act and payment of a suitable indemnity by the Imperial Government. But, though the attack upon the *Sussex* was manifestly indefensible and caused a loss of life so tragical as to make it stand forth as one of the most terrible examples of the inhumanity of submarine warfare as the commanders of

German vessels are conducting it, it unhappily does not stand alone.

On the contrary, the Government of the United States is forced by recent events to conclude that it is only one instance, even though one of the most extreme and most distressing instances, of the deliberate method and spirit of indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations which have become more and more unmistakable as the activity of German undersea vessels of war has in recent months been quickened and extended.

The Imperial Government will recall that when, in February, 1915, it announced its intention of treating the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland as embraced within the seat of war and of destroying all merchant ships owned by its enemies that might be found within that zone of danger, and warned all vessels, neutral as well as belligerent, to keep out of the waters thus proscribed or to enter them at their peril, the Government of the United States earnestly protested. It took the position that such a policy could not be pursued without constant gross and palpable violations of the accepted law of nations, particularly if submarine craft were to be employed as its instruments, inasmuch as the rulers prescribed by that law, rules founded on the principles of humanity and established for the protection of the lives of noncombatants at sea, could not in the nature of the case be observed by such vessels. It based its protest on the ground that persons of neutral nationality and vessels of neutral ownership would be exposed to extreme and intolerable risks; and that no right to close any part of the high seas could lawfully be asserted by the Imperial Government in the circumstances then existing. The law of nations in these matters, upon which the Government of the United States based that protest, is not of recent origin or founded upon merely arbitrary principles set up by convention. It is based, on the contrary, upon manifest

principles of humanity and has long been established with the approval and by the express assent of all civilized nations.

The Imperial Government, notwithstanding, persisted in carrying out the policy announced, expressing the hope that the dangers involved, at any rate to neutral vessels, would be reduced to a minimum by the instructions which it had issued to the commanders of its submarines, and assuring the Government of the United States that it would take every possible precaution both to respect the rights of neutrals and to safeguard the lives of noncombatants.

In pursuance of this policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries, thus announced and thus entered upon in despite of the solemn protest of the Government of the United States, the commanders of the Imperial Government's undersea vessels have carried on practices of such ruthless destruction which have made it more and more evident as the months have gone by that the Imperial Government has found it impracticable to put any such restraints upon them as it had hoped and promised to put. Again and again the Imperial Government has given its solemn assurances to the Government of the United States that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has repeatedly permitted its undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire impunity. As recently as February last it gave notice that it would regard all armed merchantmen owned by its enemies as part of the armed naval forces of its adversaries and deal with them as with men-of-war, thus, at least by implication, pledging itself to give warning to vessels which were not armed and to accord security of life to their passengers and crews; but even this limitation their submarine commanders have recklessly ignored.

Vessels of neutral ownership, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port,

have been destroyed along with vessels of belligerent ownership in constantly increasing numbers. Sometimes the merchantmen attacked have been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes their passengers and crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take to the ship's boats before the ship was sent to the bottom. But again and again no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on board. Great liners like the *Lusitania* and *Arabic* and mere passengers boats like the *Sussex* have been attacked without a moment's warning, often before they have even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed ship of the enemy, and the lives of noncombatants, passengers, and crew have been destroyed wholesale and in a manner which the Government of the United States can not but regard as wanton and without the slightest color of justification. No limit of any kind has in fact been set to their indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all kinds and nationalities within the waters which the Imperial Government has chosen to designate as lying within the seat of war. The roll of Americans who have lost their lives upon ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous toll has mounted into the hundreds.

The Government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy it has sought to be governed by the most thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of an unprecedented war and to be guided by sentiments of very genuine friendship for the people and Government of Germany. It has accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the Imperial Government as of course given in entire sincerity and good faith, and has hoped, even against hope, that it would prove to be possible for the Imperial Government so to order and control the acts of its naval com-

manders as to square its policy with the recognized principles of humanity as embodied in the law of nations. It has made every allowance for unprecedented conditions and has been willing to wait until the facts became unmistakable and were susceptible of only one interpretation.

It now owes it to a just regard for its own rights to say to the Imperial Government that that time has come. It has become painfully evident to it that the position which it took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce, is, of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of noncombatants.

If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether. This action the Government of the United States contemplates with the greatest reluctance but feels constrained to take in behalf of humanity and the rights of neutral nations.

LANSING.

THE "SUSSEX" AFFAIR

ADDRESS TO CONGRESS DELIVERED APRIL 19, 1916. FROM HOUSE DOCUMENT 1034, 64TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION.

A SITUATION has arisen in the foreign relations of the country of which it is my plain duty to inform you very frankly.

It will be recalled that in February, 1915, the Imperial German Government announced its intention to treat the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland as embraced within the seat of war and to destroy all merchant ships owned by its enemies that might be found within any part of that portion of the high seas, and that it warned all vessels, of neutral as well as of belligerent ownership, to keep out of the waters it had thus proscribed or else enter them at their peril. The Government of the United States earnestly protested. It took the position that such a policy could not be pursued without the practical certainty of gross and palpable violations of the law of nations, particularly if submarine craft were to be employed as its instruments, inasmuch as the rules prescribed by that law, rules founded upon principles of humanity and established for the protection of the lives of non-combatants at sea, could not in the nature of the case be observed by such vessels. It based its protest on the ground that persons of neutral nationality and vessels of neutral ownership would be exposed to extreme and intolerable risks, and that no right to close any part of the high seas against their use or to expose them to such risks could lawfully be asserted by any belligerent government. The law of nations in these matters, upon which the Government of the United States based its protest, is not of recent origin or founded upon merely arbitrary principles set

up by convention. It is based, on the contrary, upon manifest and imperative principles of humanity and has long been established with the approval and by the express assent of all civilized nations.

Notwithstanding the earnest protest of our Government, the Imperial German Government at once proceeded to carry out the policy it had announced. It expressed the hope that the dangers involved, at any rate the dangers to neutral vessels, would be reduced to a minimum by the instructions which it had issued to its submarine commanders, and assured the Government of the United States that it would take every possible precaution both to respect the rights of neutrals and to safeguard the lives of non-combatants.

What has actually happened in the year which has since elapsed has shown that those hopes were not justified, those assurances insusceptible of being fulfilled. In pursuance of the policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries, thus announced and entered upon by the Imperial German Government in despite of the solemn protest of this Government, the commanders of German undersea vessels have attacked merchant ships with greater and greater activity, not only upon the high sea surrounding Great Britain and Ireland but wherever they could encounter them, in a way that has grown more and more ruthless, more and more indiscriminate as the months have gone by, less and less observant of restraints of any kind; and have delivered their attacks without compunction against vessels of every nationality and bound upon every sort of errand. Vessels of neutral ownership, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed along with vessels of belligerent ownership in constantly increasing numbers. Sometimes the merchantman attacked has been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes passengers or crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take

to the ship's boats before she was sent to the bottom. But again and again no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on board. What this Government foresaw must happen has happened. Tragedy has followed tragedy on the seas in such fashion, with such attendant circumstances, as to make it grossly evident that warfare of such a sort, if warfare it be, can not be carried on without the most palpable violation of the dictates alike of right and of humanity. Whatever the disposition and intention of the Imperial German Government, it has manifestly proved impossible for it to keep such methods of attack upon the commerce of its enemies within the bounds set by either the reason or the heart of mankind.

In February of the present year the Imperial German Government informed this Government and the other neutral governments of the world that it had reason to believe that the Government of Great Britain had armed all merchant vessels of British ownership and had given them secret orders to attack any submarine of the enemy they might encounter upon the seas, and that the Imperial German Government felt justified in the circumstances in treating all armed merchantmen of belligerent ownership as auxiliary vessels of war, which it would have the right to destroy without warning. The law of nations has long recognized the right of merchantmen to carry arms for protection and to use them to repel attack, although to use them, in such circumstances, at their own risk; but the Imperial German Government claimed the right to set these understandings aside in circumstances which it deemed extraordinary. Even the terms in which it announced its purpose thus still further to relax the restraints it had previously professed its willingness and desire to put upon the operation of its submarines carried the plain implication that at least vessels which were not armed would still be exempt from destruction without warning and that personal safety would be accorded their passengers

and crews; but even that limitation, if it was ever practicable to observe it, has in fact constituted no check at all upon the destruction of ships of every sort.

Again and again the Imperial German Government has given this Government its solemn assurances that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has again and again permitted its undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire impunity. Great liners like the *Lusitania* and the *Arabic* and mere ferryboats like the *Sussex* have been attacked without a moment's warning, sometimes before they had even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed vessel of the enemy, and the lives of non-combatants, passengers and crew have been sacrificed wholesale, in a manner which the Government of the United States cannot but regard as wantom and without the slightest color of justification. No limit of any kind has in fact been set to the indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all kinds and nationalities within the waters, constantly extending in area, where these operations have been carried on; and the roll of Americans who have lost their lives on ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous toll has mounted into the hundreds.

One of the latest and most shocking instances of this method of warfare was that of the destruction of the French cross channel steamer *Sussex*. It must stand forth, as the sinking of the steamer *Lusitania* did, as so singularly tragical and unjustifiable as to constitute a truly terrible example of the inhumanity of submarine warfare as the commanders of German vessels have for the past twelvemonth been conducting it. If this instance stood alone, some explanation, some disavowal by the German Government, some evidence of criminal mistake or wilful disobedience on the part of the commander of the vessel that fired the torpedo might be sought or entertained; but unhappily it does not stand

alone. Recent events make the conclusion inevitable that it is only one instance, even though it be one of the most extreme and distressing instances, of the spirit and method of warfare which the Imperial German Government has mistakenly adopted, and which from the first exposed that Government to the reproach of thrusting all neutral rights aside in pursuit of its immediate objects.

The Government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy in which its own citizens were involved it has sought to be restrained from any extreme course of action or of protest by a thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of this unprecedented war, and actuated in all that it said or did by the sentiments of genuine friendship which the people of the United States have always entertained and continue to entertain towards the German nation. It has of course accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the Imperial German Government as given in entire sincerity and good faith, and has hoped, even against hope, that it would prove to be possible for the German Government so to order and control the acts of its naval commanders as to square its policy with the principles of humanity as embodied in the law of nations. It has been willing to wait until the significance of the facts became absolutely unmistakable and susceptible of but one interpretation.

That point has now unhappily been reached. The facts are susceptible of but one interpretation. The Imperial German Government has been unable to put any limits or restraints upon its warfare against either freight or passenger ships. It has therefore become painfully evident that the position which this Government took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, that the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce is of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack

which their employment of course involves, incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of noncombatants.

I have deemed it my duty, therefore, to say to the Imperial German Government that if it is still its purpose to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, notwithstanding the now demonstrated impossibility of conducting that warfare in accordance with what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue; and that unless the Imperial German Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels this Government can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the Government of the German Empire altogether.

This decision I have arrived at with the keenest regret; the possibility of the action contemplated I am sure all thoughtful Americans will look forward to with unaffected reluctance. But we cannot forget that we are in some sort and by the force of circumstances the responsible spokesmen of the rights of humanity, and that we cannot remain silent while those rights seem in process of being swept utterly away in the maelstrom of this terrible war. We owe it to a due regard for our own rights as a nation, to our sense of duty as a representative of the rights of neutrals the world over, and to a just conception of the rights of mankind to take this stand now with the utmost solemnity and firmness.

I have taken it, and taken it in the confidence that it will meet with your approval and support. All soberminded men must unite in hoping that the Imperial

German Government, which has in other circumstances stood as the champion of all that we are now contending for in the interest of humanity, may recognize the justice of our demands and meet them in the spirit in which they are made.

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

LETTER TO SENATOR C. A. CULBERSON, ON THE APPOINTMENT OF LOUIS D. BRANDEIS TO BE ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT, MAY 5, 1916. FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FILES.[1]

WASHINGTON, *May 5, 1916.*

MY DEAR SENATOR:

I am very much obliged to you for giving me an opportunity to make clear to the Judiciary Committee my reasons for nominating Mr. Louis D. Brandeis to fill the vacancy in the Supreme Court of the United States created by the death of Mr. Justice Lamar, for I am profoundly interested in the confirmation of the appointment by the Senate.

[1] UNITED STATES SENATE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
May 5, 1916

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

As you are aware, the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate has under consideration the nomination of Mr. Louis D. Brandeis for Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

In response to the formal and usual request of the Committee made to the Attorney-General for all papers in the possession of his Department touching this nomination, he replied that there were no such documents in his Department.

Inasmuch as this request usually results in the presentation to the Committee on the Judiciary of papers showing the reasons which actuated the President in making the nomination, I would be glad to have you state these reasons, for the benefit of the Committee, in case you see no objection to so doing.

Very sincerely yours,

C. A. CULBERSON.

To the President,
The White House.

There is probably no more important duty imposed upon the President in connection with the general administration of the Government than that of naming members of the Supreme Court; and I need hardly tell you that I named Mr. Brandeis as a member of that great tribunal only because I knew him to be singularly qualified by learning, by gifts, and by character for the position.

Many charges have been made against Mr. Brandeis: the report of your subcommittee has already made it plain to you and to the country at large how unfounded those charges were. They threw a great deal more light upon the character and motives of those with whom they originated than upon the qualifications of Mr. Brandeis. I myself looked into them three years ago when I desired to make Mr. Brandeis a member of my Cabinet and found that they proceeded for the most part from those who hated Mr. Brandeis because he had refused to be serviceable to them in the promotion of their own selfish interests, and from those whom they had prejudiced and misled. The propaganda in this matter has been very extraordinary and very distressing to those who love fairness and value the dignity of the great professions.

I perceived from the first that the charges were intrinsically incredible by anyone who had really known Mr. Brandeis. I have known him. I have tested him by seeking his advice upon some of the most difficult and perplexing public questions about which it was necessary for me to form a judgment. I have dealt with him in matters where nice questions of honor and fair play, as well as large questions of justice and the public benefit, were involved. In every matter in which I have made test of his judgment and point of view I have received from him counsel singularly enlightening, singularly clear-sighted and judicial, and, above all, full of moral stimulation. He is a friend of all just men and a lover of the right; and he knows more than

how to talk about the right—he knows how to set it forward in the face of its enemies. I knew from direct personal knowledge of the man what I was doing when I named him for the highest and most responsible tribunal of the nation.

Of his extraordinary ability as a lawyer no man who is competent to judge can speak with anything but the highest admiration. You will remember that in the opinion of the late Chief Justice Fuller he was the ablest man who ever appeared before the Supreme Court of the United States. "He is also," the Chief Justice added, "absolutely fearless in the discharge of his duties."

Those who have resorted to him for assistance in settling great industrial disputes can testify to his fairness and love of justice. In the troublesome controversies between the garment workers and manufacturers of New York City, for example, he gave a truly remarkable proof of his judicial temperament and had what must have been the great satisfaction of rendering decisions which both sides were willing to accept as disinterested and even-handed.

Mr. Brandeis has rendered many notable services to the city and state with which his professional life has been identified. He successfully directed the difficult campaign which resulted in obtaining cheaper gas for the City of Boston. It was chiefly under his guidance and through his efforts that legislation was secured in Massachusetts which authorized savings banks to issue insurance policies for small sums at much reduced rates. And some gentlemen who tried very hard to obtain control by the Boston Elevated Railway Company of the subways of the city for a period of ninety-nine years can probably testify as to his ability as the people's advocate when public interests call for an effective champion. He rendered these services without compensation and earned, whether he got it or not, the gratitude of every citizen of the state and city he served.

These are but a few of the services of this kind he has freely rendered. It will hearten friends of community and public rights throughout the country to see his quality signally recognized by his elevation to the Supreme Bench. For the whole country is aware of his quality and is interested in this appointment.

I did not in making choice of Mr. Brandeis ask for or depend upon "endorsements." I acted upon public knowledge and personal acquaintance with the man, and preferred to name a lawyer for this great office whose abilities and character were so widely recognized that he needed no endorsement. I did, however, personally consult many men in whose judgment I had great confidence, and am happy to say was supported in my selection by the voluntary recommendation of the Attorney General of the United States, who urged Mr. Brandeis upon my consideration independently of any suggestion from me.

Let me say by way of summing up, my dear Senator, that I nominated Mr. Brandeis for the Supreme Court because it was, and is, my deliberate judgment that, of all the men now at the bar whom it has been my privilege to observe, test, and know, he is exceptionally qualified. I cannot speak too highly of his impartial, impersonal, orderly, and constructive mind, his rare analytical powers, his deep human sympathy, his profound acquaintance with the historical roots of our institutions and insight into their spirit, or of the many evidences he has given of being imbued to the very heart with our American ideals of justice and equality of opportunity; of his knowledge of modern economic conditions and of the way they bear upon the masses of the people, or of his genius in getting persons to unite in common and harmonious action and look with frank and kindly eyes into each other's minds, who had before been heated antagonists. This friend of justice and of men will ornament the high court of which we are all so justly proud. I am glad to have had the

opportunity to pay him this tribute of admiration and of confidence; and I beg that your Committee will accept this nomination as coming from me quick with a sense of public obligation and responsibility.

With warmest regard,

WOODROW WILSON.

SUBMARINE WARFARE

SECRETARY LANSING TO AMBASSADOR JAMES W. GERARD, MAY 8, 1916. FROM THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, X, SUPPLEMENT, P. 201.

May 8, 1916.

YOU are instructed to deliver to the Minister of Foreign Affairs a communication textually as follows:

"The note of the Imperial German Government under date of May 4, 1916, has received careful consideration by the Government of the United States. It is especially noted, as indicating the purpose of the Imperial Government as to the future, that it 'is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of the war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents,' and that it is determined to impose upon all its commanders at sea the limitations of the recognized rules of international law upon which the Government of the United States has insisted. Throughout the months which have elapsed since the Imperial Government announced, on February 4, 1915, its submarine policy, now happily abandoned, the Government of the United States has been constantly guided and restrained by motives of friendship in its patient efforts to bring to an amicable settlement the critical questions arising from that policy. Accepting the Imperial Government's declaration of its abandonment of the policy which has so seriously menaced the good relations between the two countries, the Government of the United States will rely upon a scrupulous execution henceforth of the now altered policy of the Imperial Government, such as will remove the principal danger to an inter-

ruption of the good relations existing between the United States and Germany.

"The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th instant might appear to be susceptible of that construction. In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative."

LANSING.

THE FEDERAL TRADE BOARD

LETTER TO MR. EDWARD N. HURLEY, WASHINGTON, MAY 12, 1916. FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FILES.[1]

THE WHITE HOUSE,
May 12, 1916.

MY DEAR MR. HURLEY:

Your Boston speech is before me, in which you outline some of the work which the Federal Trade Commission is doing for the business men of the country. I wish to commend your efforts generally, and in particular your endeavor to assist the small manufacturer and merchant to better his condition by helping him to improve his cost accounting and bookkeeping methods.

This is a step in the right direction and one of the main fundamentals of any successful business. It is most important to the future success of a business man that he should know what his goods actually cost to manufacture and to sell. If he has these facts, they will enable him to present a modern balance sheet to his bank, and as a result he will be better able to obtain credit with which to expand and develop his business.

Your suggestion that trade associations of retail and wholesale merchants, commercial clubs, boards of trade, manufacturers' associations, credit associations, and other similar organizations should be encouraged in every feasible way by the Government seems to me a very wise one. To furnish them with data and comprehensive information in order that they may more easily accomplish the result that they are organized for is a proper and useful government function. These associations, when organized for the purpose of improving

[1] Released for afternoon papers, Wednesday, May 17, 1916.

conditions in their particular industry, such as unifying cost accounting and bookkeeping methods, standardizing products and processes of manufacture, should meet with the approval of every man interested in the business progress of the country.

Too much emphasis can not be placed on your suggestion that materials, methods, and products in industry should be standardized upon the basis of specifications drawn up in friendly co-operation with engineering societies, industrial experts, and trade associations. Further standardization in our industries will not only reduce the cost of production, but assure the producer better materials and more efficient workmanship, and to the consuming public the manifest benefit resulting from not having to pay for a wide and increasing variety of products and materials. Judicious standardization also means a greater return on a given investment. Capital now tied up because of inefficient methods will be released and can be used effectively elsewhere.

If we are to be an important factor in the world's markets, we must be more thorough and efficient in production. The encouragement of trade associations and standardization, and the installing of better cost accounting methods in our business concerns will go a long way toward accomplishing this end.

It is my hope that, in addition to the other work which the Federal Trade Commission is doing, it will ascertain the facts regarding conditions in our various industries. If it finds that an industry is not healthy, it should, after carefully considering the facts, in co-operation with the parties interested, suggest a practical and helpful remedy. In this way many of our difficult business problems might be solved.

I am very anxious to see you continue to co-operate with the business men of the country along the lines upon which you are working.

PUBLIC OFFICIALS SWELL UP

ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, MAY 15, 1916.
FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FILES.

I AM both glad and sorry to be here; glad because I am always happy to be with you, and know and like so many of you, and sorry because I have to make a speech. One of the leading faults of you gentlemen of the press is your inordinate desire to hear other men talk, to draw them out upon all occasions, whether they wish to be drawn out or not. I remember being in this Press Club once before, making many unpremeditated disclosures of myself, and then having you with your singular instinct for publicity insist that I should give it away to everybody else.

I was thinking as I was looking forward to coming here this evening of that other occasion when I stood very nearly at the threshold of the duties that I have since been called upon to perform, and I was going over in my mind the impressions that I then had by way of forecast of the duties of President and comparing them with the experiences that have followed. I must say that the forecast has been very largely verified, and that the impressions I had then have been deepened rather than weakened.

You may recall that I said then that I felt constantly a personal detachment from the Presidency; that one thing that I resented when I was not performing the duties of the office was being reminded that I was the President of the United States. I felt toward it as a man feels toward a great function which, in working hours, he is obliged to perform, but which, out of working hours, he is glad to get away from and almost forget and resume the quiet course of his own thoughts. I am constantly reminded as I go about, as I do sometimes

at the week end, of the personal inconvenience of being President of the United States. If I want to know how many people live in a small town all I have to do is to go there and they at once line up to be counted. I might, in a census-taking year, save the census takers a great deal of trouble by asking them to accompany me and count the people on the spot. Sometimes, when I am most beset, I seriously think of renting a pair of whiskers or of doing something else that will furnish me with an adequate disguise, because I am sorry to find that the cut of my jib is unmistakable and that I must sail under false colors if I am going to sail incognito.

Yet as I have matched my experiences with my anticipations, I, of course, have been aware that I was taken by surprise because of the prominence of many things to which I had not looked forward. When we are dealing with domestic affairs, gentlemen, we are dealing with things that to us as Americans are more or less calculable. There is a singular variety among our citizenship, it is true, a greater variety even than I had anticipated; but, after all, we are all steeped in the same atmosphere, we are all surrounded by the same environment, we are all more or less affected by the same traditions, and, moreover, we are working out something that has to be worked out among ourselves, and the elements are there to be dealt with at first hand. But when the fortunes of your own country are, so to say, subject to the incalulable winds of passion that are blowing through other parts of the world, then the strain is of a singular and unprecedented kind, because you do not know by what turn of the wheel of fortune the control of things is going to be taken out of your hand; it makes no difference how deep the passion of the Nation lies, that passion may be so overborne by the rush of fortune in circumstances like those which now exist that you feel the sort of—I had almost said resentment that a man feels when his own affairs are not within his own hands. You can imagine the strain upon the

feeling of any man who is trying to interpret the spirit of his country when he feels that that spirit cannot have its own way beyond a certain point. And one of the greatest points of strain upon me, if I may be permitted to point it out, was this:

There are two reasons why the chief wish of America is for peace. One is that they love peace and have nothing to do with the present quarrel; and the other is that they believe the present quarrel has carried those engaged in it so far that they cannot be held to ordinary standards of responsibility, and that, therefore, as some men have expressed it to me, since the rest of the world is mad, why should we not simply refuse to have anything to do with the rest of the world in the ordinary channels of action? Why not let the storm pass, and then, when it is all over, have the reckonings? Knowing that from both these two points of view the passion of America was for peace, I was, nevertheless, aware that America is one of the nations of the world, not only, but one of the chief nations of the world—a Nation that grows more and more powerful almost in spite of herself; that grows morally more and more influential even when she is not aware of it; and that if she is to play the part which she most covets, it is necessary that she should act more or less from the point of view of the rest of the world. If I cannot retain my moral influence over a man except by occasionally knocking him down, if that is the only basis upon which he will respect me, then for the sake of his soul I have got occasionally to knock him down. You know how we have read in—isn't it in Ralph Connor's stories of western life in Canada?—that all his sky pilots are ready for a fracas at any time, and how the ultimate salvation of the souls of their parishioners depends upon their using their fists occasionally. If a man will not listen to you quietly in a seat, sit on his neck and make him listen; just as I have always maintained, particularly in view of certain experiences of mine, that the

shortest road to a boy's moral sense is through his cuticle. There is a direct and, if I may be permitted the pun, a fundamental connection between the surface of his skin and his moral consciousness. You arrest his attention first in that way, and then get the moral lesson conveyed to him in milder ways that, if he were grown up, would be the only ways you would use.

So I say that I have been aware that in order to do the very thing that we are proudest of the ability to do, there might come a time when we would have to do it in a way that we would prefer not to do it; and the great burden on my spirits, gentlemen, has been that it has been up to me to choose when that time came. Can you imagine a thing more calculated to keep a man awake at nights than that? Because, just because I did not feel that I was the whole thing and was aware that my duty was a duty of interpretation, how could I be sure that I had the right elements of information by which to interpret truly?

What we are now talking about is largely spiritual. You say, "All the people out my way think so and so." Now, I know perfectly well that you have not talked with all the people out your way. I find that out again and again. And so you are taken by surprise. The people of the United States are not asking anybody's leave to do their own thinking, and are not asking anybody to tip them off what they ought to think. They are thinking for themselves, every man for himself; and you do not know, and, the worst of it is, since the responsibility is mine, I do not know what they are thinking about. I have the most imperfect means of finding out, and yet I have got to act as if I knew. That is the burden of it, and I tell you, gentlemen, it is a pretty serious burden, particularly if you look upon the office as I do—that I am not put here to do what I please. If I were, it would have been very much more interesting than it has been. I am put here to inter-

pret, to register, to suggest, and, more than that, and much greater than that, to be suggested to.

Now, that is where the experience that I forecast has differed from the experience that I have had. In domestic matters I think I can in most cases come pretty near a guess where the thought of America is going, but in foreign affairs the chief element is where action is going on in other quarters of the world and not where thought is going in the United States. Therefore, I have several times taken the liberty of urging upon you gentlemen not yourselves to know more than the State Department knows about foreign affairs. Some of you have shown a singular range of omniscience, and certain things have been reported as understood in administrative circles which I never heard of until I read the newspapers. I am constantly taken by surprise in regard to decisions which are said to be my own, and this gives me an uncomfortable feeling that some providence is at work with which I have had no communication at all. Now, that is pretty dangerous, gentlemen, because it happens that remarks start fires. There is tinder lying everywhere, not only on the other side of the water, but on this side of the water, and a man that spreads sparks may be responsible for something a great deal worse than burning a town on the Mexican border. Thoughts may be bandits. Thoughts may be raiders. Thoughts may be invaders. Thoughts may be disturbers of international peace; and when you reflect upon the importance of this country keeping out of the present war, you will know what tremendous elements we are all dealing with. We are all in the same boat. If somebody does not keep the processes of peace going, if somebody does not keep their passions disengaged, by what impartial judgment and suggestion is the world to be aided to a solution when the whole thing is over? If you are in a conference in which you know nobody is disinterested, how are you going to make a plan? I tell you this, gentlemen, the only thing that saves the

world is the little handful of disinterested men that are in it.

Now, I have found a few disinterested men. I wish I had found more. I can name two or three men with whom I have conferred again and again and again, and I have never caught them by an inadvertence thinking about themselves for their own interests, and I tie to those men as you would tie to an anchor. I tie to them as you would tie to the voices of conscience if you could be sure that you always heard them. Men who have no axes to grind! Men who love America so that they would give their lives for it and never care whether anybody heard that they had given their lives for it; willing to die in obscurity if only they might serve! Those are the men, and nations like those men are the nations that are going to serve the world and save it. There never was a time in the history of the world when character, just sheer character all by itself, told more than it does now. A friend of mine says that every man who takes office in Washington either grows or swells, and when I give a man an office, I watch him carefully to see whether he is swelling or growing. The mischief of it is that when they swell they do not swell enough to burst. If they would only swell to the point where you might insert a pin and let the gases out, it would be a great delight. I do not know any pastime that would be more diverting, except that the gases are probably poisonous so that we would have to stand from under. But the men who grow, the men who think better a year after they are put in office than they thought when they were put in office, are the balance wheel of the whole thing. They are the ballast that enables the craft to carry sail and to make port in the long run, no matter what the weather is.

So I have come willing to make this narrative of experience to you. I have come through the fire since I talked to you last. Whether the metal is purer than it was, God only knows; but the fire has been there, the

fire has penetrated every part of it, and if I may believe my own thoughts I have less partisan feeling, more impatience of party maneuver, more enthusiasm for the right thing, no matter whom it hurts, than I ever had before in my life. And I have something that it is no doubt dangerous to have, but that I cannot help having. I have a profound intellectual contempt for men who cannot see the signs of the times. I have to deal with some men who know no more of the modern processes of politics than if they were living in the eighteenth century, and for them I have a profound and comprehensive intellectual contempt. They are blind. They are hopelessly blind; and the worst of it is I have to spend hours of my time talking to them when I know before I start as much as after I have finished that it is absolutely useless to talk to them. I am talking *in vacuo*.

The business of every one of us, gentlemen, is to realize that if we are correspondents of papers who have not yet heard of modern times we ought to send them as many intimations of modern movements as they are willing to print. There is a simile that was used by a very interesting English writer that has been much in my mind. Like myself, he had often been urged not to try to change so many things. I remember when I was president of a university a man said to me, "Good heavens, man, why don't you leave something alone and let it stay the way it is?" And I said, "If you will guarantee to me that it will stay the way it is I will let it alone; but if you knew anything you would know that if you leave a live thing alone it will not stay where it is. It will develop and will either go in the wrong direction or decay." I reminded him of this thing that the English writer said, that if you want to keep a white post white you cannot let it alone. It will get black. You have to keep doing something to it. In that instance you have got to keep painting it white, and you have got to paint it white very fre-

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quently in order to keep it white, because there are forces at work that will get the better of you. Not only will it turn black, but the forces of moisture and the other forces of nature will penetrate the white paint and get at the fiber of the wood, and decay will set in, and the next time you try to paint it you will find that there is nothing but punk to paint. Then you will remember the Red Queen in "Alice in Wonderland," or "Alice Through the Looking Glass"—I forget which, it has been so long since I read them—who takes Alice by the hand and they rush along at a great pace, and then when they stop Alice looks around and says, "But we are just where we were when we started." "Yes," says the Red Queen, "you have to run twice as fast as that to get anywhere else."

That is also true, gentlemen, of the world and of affairs. You have got to run fast merely to stay where you are, and in order to get anywhere, you have got to run twice as fast as that. That is what people do not realize. That is the mischief of these hopeless dams against the stream known as reactionaries and stand-patters, and other words of obloquy. That is what is the matter with them; they are not even staying where they were. They are sinking further and further back in what will sometime comfortably close over their heads as the black waters of oblivion. I sometimes imagine that I see their heads going down, and I am not inclined even to throw them a life preserver. The sooner they disappear, the better. We need their places for people who are awake; and we particularly need now, gentlemen, men who will divest themselves of party passion and of personal preference and will try to think in the terms of America. If a man describes himself to me now in any other terms than those terms, I am not sure of him; and I love the fellows that come into my office sometimes and say, "Mr. President, I am an American." Their hearts are right, their instinct true, they are going in the right direction, and will take

the right leadership if they believe that the leader is also a man who thinks first of America.

You will see, gentlemen, that I did not premeditate these remarks, or they would have had some connection with each other. They would have had some plan. I have merely given myself the pleasure of telling you what has really been in my heart, and not only has been in my heart but is in my heart every day of the week. If I did not go off at week ends occasionally and throw off, as much as it is possible to throw off, this burden, I could not stand it. This week I went down the Potomac and up the James and substituted history for politics, and there was an infinite, sweet calm in some of those old places that reminded me of the records that were made in the days that are past; and I comforted myself with the recollection that the men we remember are the disinterested men who gave us the deeds that have covered the name of America all over with the luster of imperishable glory.

THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA, MAY 20, 1916. FROM THE NEW YORK "TIMES," MAY 21, 1916.

I DO not know, my fellow-citizens, whether I can interpret for you to-day the spirit of this occasion, but it is necessary when we get together in celebrations like this to take counsel together with regard to just what it is that we wish to celebrate. You will say we wish to celebrate the memories of that time to which we look back with such pride, when our fathers, with singular wisdom of counsel and stoutness of heart, undertook to set up an independent nation on this side of the water; but it is very much more important that we should remind ourselves of the elements with which our forefathers dealt.

There were only 3,000,000 citizens in that original Republic of the United States of America. Now there are 100,000,000. It is a long cry back to those modest beginnings. A great period of time not only, but a great period of profound change separates us from that time, and yet I would remind you that the same elements were present then that are present now.

What interests my thought more than anything else about the United States is that it has always been in process of being made, ever since that little beginning, and that there have always been the same elements in the process. At the outset there was at the heart of the men who led the movement for independence a very high and handsome passion for human liberty and free institutions. And yet there lay before them a great continent, which it was necessary to subdue to the

uses of civilization if they were going to build upon it a great State among the family of nations.

I heard a preacher once point out the very interesting circumstances that our Lord's Prayer begins with the petition for "our daily bread," from which he drew the inference that it is very difficult to worship God on an empty stomach, and that the material foundations of our life are the first foundations. What I want to call your attention to is that this country, ever since that time, has devoted practically all of its attention, perhaps too much of its attention, to the material foundation of its life; to subduing this continent to the uses of the nation, and to the building up of a great body of wealth and material power. I find some men who, when they think of America, do not think of anything else but that. But, my friends, there have been other nations, just as rich and just as powerful in comparison with the other nations of the world as the United States is, and it is a great deal more important that we should determine what we are going to do with our power than that we should possess it.

You must remember, therefore, the elements with which we are dealing. Sometimes those of us who were born in this part of the country persuade ourselves that this is the characteristic part of America. Here, more than anywhere else, has been preserved a great part of the original stock which settled this country, particularly that portion of the stock which came from the British Isles (I am not meaning to exclude Ireland); and then I find a great many of my friends who live in New England imagining that the history of this country is merely the history of the expansion of New England and that Plymouth Rock lies at the foundation of our institutions.

As a matter of fact, my fellow-citizens, however mortifying it may be to them or to us, America did not come out of the South, and it did not come out of New England. The characteristic part of America

originated in the Middle States of New York and Pennsylvania and New Jersey, because there from the first was that mixture of populations, that mixture of racial stocks, that mixture of antecedents which is the most singular and distinguished mark of the United States.

The most singular fact about this great Nation which we represent is that it is made up out of all the nations of the world. I dare say that the men who came to America then and the men who have come to America since came with a single purpose, sharing some part of the passion for human liberty which characterized the men who founded the Republic, but they came with all sorts of blood in their veins, all sorts of antecedents behind them, all sorts of traditions in their family and national life; and America has had to serve as a melting pot for all these diversified and contrasted elements. What kind of fire of pure passion are you going to keep burning under the pot in order that the mixture that comes out may be purged of its dross and may be the fine gold of untainted Americanism? That is the problem.

I want to call your attention to another picture. America has always been making and to be made, and while we were in the midst of this process, apparently at the acme and crisis of this process, while this travail of souls and fermentation of elements was at its height, came this great cataclysm of European war, and almost every other nation in the world became involved in tremendous struggle, which was what, my fellow-citizens?

What are the elements in the struggle?

Don't you see that in this European war is involved the very thing that has been going on in America? It is a competition of national standards, of national traditions, and of national political systems. Europe has grappled in war, as we have grappled in peace, to see what is going to be done with these things when they come into hot contact with one another. For do you not remember that, while these processes were going

on in America, some very interesting things were happening?

It was a very big world into which this nation came when it was born, but it is a very little world now. It used to take as many days to go from Washington to Charlotte in those days as it now takes hours. I heard an Irishman say, if the power of steam continued to increase in the next fifty years as it has in the last, we would get to Charlotte two hours before we left Washington.

And, as these processes of intercommunication have been developed and quickened, men of the same nation not only have grown closer neighbors with each other, but men of different nations have grown closer neighbors with each other; and now that we have these invisible tongues that speak by the wireless through the trackless air to the ends of the world, every man can make every other man in the world and his neighbor speak to him upon the moment.

While these processes of fermentation and travail were going on, men were learning about each other, nations were becoming more and more acquainted with each other, nations were becoming more and more interrelated, and intercommunication was being quickened in every possible way, so that now the melting pot is bigger than America. It is as big as the world. And what you see taking place on the other side of the waters is the tremendous—I had about said final—process by which a contest of elements may in God's process be turned into a co-ordination and co-operation of elements.

For it is an interesting circumstance that the processes of the war stand still. These hot things that are in contact with each other do not make very much progress against each other. When you cannot overcome you must take counsel. See, then, ladies and gentlemen, what a new age we have come into. I should think that it would quicken the imagination of every man,

and quicken the patriotism of every man who cared for America.

Here in America we have tried to set the example of bringing all the world together upon the terms of liberty, and co-operation, and peace, and in that great experience that we have been going through America has been a sort of prophetic sample of mankind. Now the world outside of America has felt the forces of America; felt the forces of freedom, the forces of common aspiration, the forces that bring every man and every nation face to face with this question, "What are you going to do with your power? Are you going to translate it into force, or are you going to translate it into peace and the salvation of society?"

Does it not interest you that America has run before the rest of the world in making trial of this great human experiment, and is it not the sign and dawn of a new age that the one thing upon which the world is now about to fall back is the moral judgment of mankind?

There is no finer sentence in the history of great nations than that sentence which occurs in the Declaration of Independence (I am now referring to the minor declaration at Philadelphia, not to the Mecklenburg declaration), in which Mr. Jefferson said: "A decent respect for the opinion of mankind makes it necessary (I am not now quoting the words exactly), that we should state the grounds upon which we have taken the important step for asserting our independence."

"A decent respect for the opinion of mankind"—it is as if Jefferson knew that this was the way in which mankind itself was to struggle to realize its aspirations, and that, standing in the presence of mankind, this little group of three million people should say, "Friends and fellow-citizens of the great moral world, our reason for doing this thing we now intend to state to you in candid and complete terms, so that you will never think that we were merely throwing off a yoke out of impatience, but know that we were throwing off this thing

in order that a great world of liberty should be open to man through our instrumentality."

I would like, therefore, to think that the spirit of this occasion could be expressed if we imagined ourselves lifting some sacred emblem of counsel and of peace, of accommodation and righteous judgment before the nations of the world and reminding them of that passage in the Scripture, "After the wind, after the earthquake, after the fire, the still small voice of humanity."

FIRST COMMITMENT TO THE IDEA OF A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

ADDRESS BEFORE THE LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE, WASHINGTON, MAY 27, 1916. FROM OFFICIAL PUBLICATION IN MR. WILSON'S FILES.

WHEN the invitation to be here to-night came to me, I was glad to accept it—not because it offered me an opportunity to discuss the programme of the League—that you will, I am sure, not expect of me—but because the desire of the whole world now turns eagerly, more and more eagerly, towards the hope of peace, and there is just reason why we should take our part in counsel upon this great theme. It is right that I, as spokesman of our Government, should attempt to give expression to what I believe to be the thought and purpose of the people of the United States in this vital matter.

This great war that broke so suddenly upon the world two years ago, and which has swept within its flame so great a part of the civilized world, has affected us very profoundly, and we are not only at liberty, it is perhaps our duty, to speak very frankly of it and of the great interests of civilization which it affects.

With its causes and its objects we are not concerned. The obscure fountains from which its stupendous flood has burst forth we are not interested to search for or explore. But so great a flood, spread far and wide to every quarter of the globe, has of necessity engulfed many a fair province of right that lies very near to us. Our own rights as a Nation, the liberties, the privileges, and the property of our people have been profoundly affected. We are not mere disconnected lookers-on. The longer the war lasts, the more deeply do we become concerned that it should be brought to an end and the

world be permitted to resume its normal life and course again. And when it does come to an end we shall be as much concerned as the nations at war to see peace assume an aspect of permanence, give promise of days from which the anxiety of uncertainty shall be lifted, bring some assurance that peace and war shall always hereafter be reckoned part of the common interest of mankind. We are participants, whether we would or not, in the life of the world. The interests of all nations are our own also. We are partners with the rest. What affects mankind is inevitably our affair as well as the affair of the nations of Europe and of Asia.

One observation on the causes of the present war we are at liberty to make, and to make it may throw some light forward upon the future, as well as backward upon the past. It is plain that this war could have come only as it did, suddenly and out of secret counsels, without warning to the world, without discussion, without any of the deliberate movements of counsel with which it would seem natural to approach so stupendous a contest. It is probable that if it had been foreseen just what would happen, just what alliances would be formed, just what forces arrayed against one another, those who brought the great contest on would have been glad to substitute conference for force. If we ourselves had been afforded some opportunity to apprise the belligerents of the attitude which it would be our duty to take, of the policies and practices against which we would feel bound to use all our moral and economic strength, and in certain circumstances even our physical strength also, our own contribution to the counsel which might have averted the struggle would have been considered worth weighing and regarding.

And the lesson which the shock of being taken by surprise in a matter so deeply vital to all the nations of the world has made poignantly clear is, that the peace of the world must henceforth depend upon a

new and more wholesome diplomacy. Only when the great nations of the world have reached some sort of agreement as to what they hold to be fundamental to their common interest, and as to some feasible method of acting in concert when any nation or group of nations seeks to disturb those fundamental things, can we feel that civilization is at last in a way of justifying its existence and claiming to be finally established. It is clear that nations must in the future be governed by the same high code of honor that we demand of individuals.

We must, indeed, in the very same breath with which we avow this conviction admit that we have ourselves upon occasion in the past been offenders against the law of diplomacy which we thus forecast; but our conviction is not the less clear, but rather the more clear, on that account. If this war has accomplished nothing else for the benefit of the world, it has at least disclosed a great moral necessity and set forward the thinking of the statesmen of the world by a whole age. Repeated utterances of the leading statesmen of most of the great nations now engaged in war have made it plain that their thought has come to this, that the principle of public right must henceforth take precedence over the individual interests of particular nations, and that the nations of the world must in some way band themselves together to see that that right prevails as against any sort of selfish aggression; that henceforth alliance must not be set up against alliance, understanding against understanding, but that there must be a common agreement for a common object, and that at the heart of that common object must lie the inviolable rights of peoples and of mankind. The nations of the world have become each other's neighbors. It is to their interest that they should understand each other. In order that they may understand each other, it is imperative that they should agree to co-operate in a common cause, and that they should so act that the guiding

principle of that common cause shall be even-handed and impartial justice.

This is undoubtedly the thought of America. This is what we ourselves will say when there comes proper occasion to say it. In the dealings of nations with one another arbitrary force must be rejected and we must move forward to the thought of the modern world, the thought of which peace is the very atmosphere. That thought constitutes a chief part of the passionate conviction of America.

We believe these fundamental things: First, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live. Like other nations, we have ourselves no doubt once and again offended against that principle when for a little while controlled by selfish passion as our franker historians have been honorable enough to admit; but it has become more and more our rule of life and action. Second, that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon. And, third, that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.

So sincerely do we believe in these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation.

There is nothing that the United States wants for itself that any other nation has. We are willing, on the contrary, to limit ourselves along with them to a prescribed course of duty and respect for the rights of others which will check any selfish passion of our own, as it will check any aggressive impulse of theirs.

If it should ever be our privilege to suggest or in-

itiate a movement for peace among the nations now at war, I am sure that the people of the United States would wish their Government to move along these lines: First, such a settlement with regard to their own immediate interests as the belligerents may agree upon. We have nothing material of any kind to ask for ourselves, and are quite aware that we are in no sense or degree parties to the present quarrel. Our interest is only in peace and its future guarantees. Second, an universal association of the nations to maintain the inviolate security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all the nations of the world, and to prevent any war begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning and full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world—a virtual guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence.

But I did not come here, let me repeat, to discuss a programme. I came only to avow a creed and give expression to the confidence I feel that the world is even now upon the eve of a great consummation, when some common force will be brought into existence which shall safeguard right as the first and most fundamental interest of all peoples and all governments, when coercion shall be summoned not to the service of political ambition or selfish hostility, but to the service of a common order, a common justice, and a common peace. God grant that the dawn of that day of frank dealing and of settled peace, concord, and co-operation may be near at hand!

THE NATION "ONE AND INSEPARABLE"

FLAG DAY PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, MAY 30, 1916. FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FILES.

MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN:

Many circumstances have recently conspired to turn our thoughts to a critical examination of the conditions of our national life, of the influences which have seemed to threaten to divide us in interest and sympathy, of forces within and forces without that seemed likely to draw us away from the happy traditions of united purpose and action of which we have been so proud. It has therefore seemed to me fitting that I should call your attention to the approach of the anniversary of the day upon which the flag of the United States was adopted by the Congress as the emblem of the Union, and to suggest to you that it should this year and in the years to come be given special significance as a day of renewal and reminder, a day upon which we should direct our minds with a special desire of renewal to thoughts of the ideals and principles of which we have sought to make our great Government the embodiment.

I therefore suggest and request that throughout the Nation and if possible in every community the fourteenth day of June be observed as FLAG DAY with special patriotic exercises, at which means shall be taken to give significant expression to our thoughtful love of America, our comprehension of the great mission of liberty and justice to which we have devoted ourselves as a people, our pride in the history and our enthusiasm for the political program of the Nation, our determination to make it greater and purer with each generation, and our resolution to demonstrate to all the

world its vital union in sentiment and purpose, accepting only those as true compatriots who feel as we do the compulsion of this supreme allegiance. Let us on that day rededicate ourselves to the Nation, "one and inseparable," from which every thought that is not worthy of our fathers' first vows of independence, liberty, and right shall be excluded and in which we shall stand with united hearts, for an America which no man can corrupt, no influence draw away from its ideals, no force divide against itself, a Nation signally distinguished among all the nations of mankind for its clear, individual conception alike of its duties and its privileges, its obligations and its rights.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this thirtieth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixteen and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fortieth.

[SEAL]

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State.*

AMERICANS MUST BECOME PARTNERS IN THE GUARANTEE OF A JUST PEACE

MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS DELIVERED AT ARLINGTON, MAY 30, 1916. FROM THE "CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 64TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION, PP. 10298-10299.

WHENEVER I seek to interpret the spirit of an occasion like this I am led to reflect upon the seas of memory. We are here to-day to recall a period of our history which in one sense is so remote that we no longer seem to keep the vital threads of it in our consciousness, and yet is so near that men who played heroic parts in it are still living, are still about us, are still here to receive the homage of our respect and our honor. They belong to an age which is past, to a period the vital questions of which no longer vex the Nation, to a period of which it may be said that certain things which had been questionable in the affairs of the United States were once for all settled, disposed of, put behind us, and in the course of time have almost been forgotten.

It was a singularly complete work that was performed by the processes of blood and iron at the time of the Civil War, and it is singular how the settlement has ruled our spirits since it was made. I see in this very audience men who fought in the Confederate ranks. I see them taking part in these exercises in the same spirit of sincere patriotism that moves those who fought on the side of the Union, and I reflect how singular and how handsome a thing it is that wounds such as then were opened should be so completely healed and that the spirit of America should so prevail over the spirit of division.

It is the all-prevailing and triumphant spirit of

America, where, by our common action and consent, Governments are set up and pulled down; where affairs are ruled by common counsel; and where, by the healing processes of peace, all men are united in a common enterprise of liberty and of peace.

And yet, ladies and gentlemen, the very object for which we are met together is to renew in our hearts the spirit that made these things possible. The Union was saved by the processes of the Civil War. That was a crisis which could be handled, it seems, in no other way, but I need not tell you that the peculiarity of this singular and beloved country is that its task—its human task—is apparently never finished; that it is always making and to be made.

And there is at present upon us a crisis which seems to threaten to be a new crisis of division. We know that the war which is to ensue will be a war of spirits and not of arms. We know that the spirit of America is invincible and that no man can abate its power, but we know that that spirit must upon occasion be asserted, and that this is one of the occasions.

America is made up out of all the nations of the world. Look at the rosters of the Civil War. You will see names there drawn from almost every European stock. Not recently, but from the first, America has drawn her blood and her impulse from all the sources of energy that spring at the fountains of every race, and because she is thus compounded out of the peoples of the world her problem is largely a problem of union all the time, a problem of compounding out of many elements a single triumphal force.

The war in Europe has done a very natural thing in America. It has stirred the memories of men drawn from many of the belligerent stocks. It has renewed in them a national feeling which had grown faint under the soothing influence of peace, but which now flares up when it looks as if nation had challenged nation to a final reckoning, and they remember the nations from

which they were sprung and know that they are in this life-and-death grapple. It is not singular, my fellow citizens, that this should have occurred, and up to a certain point it is not just that we should criticize it. We have no criticism for men who love the places of their birth and the sources of their origin. We do not wish men to forget their mothers and their fathers, their forbears running back through long, laborious generations which have taken part in the building up of the strength and spirit of other nations. No man quarrels with that.

From such springs of sentiment we all draw some of the handsomest inspirations of our lives. But all that we do criticize is that in some instances—they are not very numerous—but in some instances men have allowed this old ardor of another nationality to overthrow their ardor for the nationality to which they have given their new and voluntary allegiance. And so the United States has again to work out by spiritual process a new union, when men shall not think of what divides them but shall recall what unites them; when men shall not allow old loves to take the place of present allegiances; when men must, on the contrary, translate that very ardor of love of country of their birth into the ardor of love for the country of their adoption and the principles which it represents.

I have no harshness in my heart even for the extremists in this thing which I have been trying in moderate words to describe; but I summon them, and I summon them very solemnly, not to set their purpose against the purpose of America. America must come first in every purpose we entertain, and every man must count upon being cast out of our confidence, cast out even of our tolerance, who does not submit to that great ruling principle.

But what are the purposes of America? Do you not see that there is another significance in the fact that we are made up out of all the peoples of the world?

The significance of that fact is that we are not going to devote our nationality to the same mistaken aggressive purposes that some other nationalities have been devoted to; that because we are made up, and consciously made up, out of all the great family of mankind, we are champions of the rights of mankind.

We are not only ready to co-operate, but we are ready to fight against any aggression, whether from without or from within. But we must guard ourselves against the sort of aggression which would be unworthy of America. We are ready to fight for our rights when those rights are coincident with the rights of man and humanity. It was to set those rights up, to vindicate them, to offer a home to every man who believed in them, that America was created and her Government set up. We have kept our doors open because we did not think we in conscience could close them against men who wanted to join their force with ours in vindicating the claim of mankind to liberty and justice.

America does not want any additional territory. She does not want any selfish advantage over any other nation in the world, but she does wish every nation in the world to understand what she stands for and to respect what she stands for; and I can not conceive of any men of any blood or origin failing to feel an enthusiasm for the things that America stands for, or failing to see that they are indefinitely elevated above any purpose of aggression or selfish advantage.

I said the other evening in another place that one of the principles which America held dear was that small and weak States had as much right to their sovereignty and independence as large and strong States. She believes that because strength and weakness have nothing to do with her principles. Her principles are for the rights and liberties of mankind, and this is the haven which we have offered to those who believe that sublime and sacred creed of humanity.

And I also said that I believed that the people of the

United States were ready to become partners in any alliance of the nations that would guarantee public right above selfish aggression. Some of the public prints have reminded me, as if I needed to be reminded, of what General Washington warned us against. He warned us against entangling alliances. I shall never myself consent to an entangling alliance, but I would gladly assent to a disentangling alliance—an alliance which would disentangle the peoples of the world from those combinations in which they seek their own separate and private interests and unite the people of the world to preserve the peace of the world upon a basis of common right and justice. There is liberty there, not limitation. There is freedom, not entanglement. There is the achievement of the highest things for which the United States has declared its principle.

We have been engaged recently, my fellow citizens, in discussing the processes of preparedness. I have been trying to explain to you what we are getting prepared for, and I want to point out to you the only process of preparation which is possible for the United States. It is possible for the United States to get ready only if the men of suitable age and strength will volunteer to get ready.

I heard the president of the United States Chamber of Commerce report the other evening on a referendum to 750 of the chambers of commerce of the United States upon the question of preparedness, and he reported that 99 per cent of them had voted in favor of preparedness. Very well, now, we are going to apply the acid test to these gentlemen, and the acid test is this: Will they give the young men in their employment freedom to volunteer for this thing? I wish the referendum had included that, because that is the essence of the matter.

It is all very well to say that somebody else must prepare, but are the business men of this country ready themselves to lend a hand and sacrifice an interest in

order that we may get ready? We shall have an answer to that question in the next few months. A bill is lying upon my table now, ready to be signed, which bristles all over with that interrogation point, and I want all the business men of the country to see that interrogation point staring them in the face. I have heard a great many people talk about universal training. Universal voluntary training, with all my heart, if you wish it, but America does not wish anything but the compulsion of the spirit of America.

I, for my part, do not entertain any serious doubt of the answer to these questions, because I suppose there is no place in the world where the compulsion of public opinion is more imperative than it is in the United States. You know yourself how you behave when you think nobody is watching. And now all the people of the United States are watching each other. There never was such a blazing spotlight upon the conduct and principles of every American as each one of us now walks and blinks in.

And as this spotlight sweeps its relentless rays across every square mile of the territory of the United States, I know a great many men, even when they do not want to, are going to stand up and say, 'Here.' Because America is roused, roused to a self-consciousness and a national self-consciousness such as she has not had in a generation.

And this spirit is going out conquering and to conquer until, it may be, in the Providence of God, a new light is lifted up in America which shall throw the rays of liberty and justice far abroad upon every sea, and even upon the lands which now wallow in darkness and refuse to see the light.

A NEW CALL TO DUTY

ADDRESS BEFORE THE GRADUATING CLASS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY, JUNE 2, 1916. FROM SENATE DOCUMENT 460, 64TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION.

IT had not been my purpose when I came here to say anything to-day, but as I sit here and look at you youngsters, I find that my feeling is a very personal feeling indeed. I know some of the things that you have been through and I admire the way in which you have responded to the new call of duty. I would feel that I had not done either you or myself justice if I did not tell you so.

I have thought that there was one interesting bond that united us. You were at Washington three years ago and saw me get into trouble, and now I am here to see the beginning of your trouble. Your trouble will last longer than mine, but I doubt if it will be any more interesting. I have had a liberal education in the last three years, with which nothing that I underwent before bears the slightest comparison. But what I want to say to you young gentlemen is this: I can illustrate it in this way. Once and again when youngsters here or at West Point have forgotten themselves and done something that they ought not to do and were about to be disciplined, perhaps severely, for it, I have been appealed to by their friends to excuse them from the penalty. Knowing that I have spent most of my life at a college they commonly say to me, "You know college boys. You know what they are. They are heedless youngsters very often, and they ought not to be held up to the same standards of responsibility that older men must submit to." And I have always replied: "Yes; I know college boys. But while these youngsters

are college boys, they are something more. They are officers of the United States. They are not merely college boys. If they were, I would look at derelictions of duty on their part in another spirit; but any dereliction of duty on the part of a naval officer of the United States may involve the fortunes of a nation and cannot be overlooked." Do you not see the difference? You can not indulge yourselves in weaknesses, gentlemen. You cannot forget your duty for a moment, because there might come a time when that weak spot in you should affect you in the midst of a great engagement, and then the whole history of the world might be changed by what you did not do or did wrong.

So that the personal feeling I have for you is this: We are all bound together, I for the time being and you permanently, under a special obligation, the most solemn that the mind can conceive. The fortunes of a nation are confided to us. Now, that ought not to depress a man. Sometimes I think that nothing is worth while that is not hard. You do not improve your muscle by doing the easy thing; you improve it by doing the hard thing, and you get your zest by doing a thing that is difficult, not a thing that is easy. I would a great deal rather, so far as my sense of enjoyment is concerned, have something strenuous to do than have something that can be done leisurely and without a stimulation of the faculties.

Therefore, I congratulate you that you are going to live your lives under the most stimulating compulsion that any man can feel, the sense, not of private duty merely, but of public duty also. And then if you perform that duty, there is a reward awaiting you which is superior to any other reward in the world. That is the affectionate remembrance of your fellow men—their honor, their affection. No man could wish for more than that or find anything higher than that to strive for. And, therefore, I want you to know,

gentlemen, if it is any satisfaction to you, that I shall personally follow your careers in the days that are ahead of you with real personal interest. I wish you Godspeed, and remind you that yours is the honor of the United States.

LET THERE BE NO TAINT OF MILITARISM AMONG YOU

ADDRESS AT THE MILITARY ACADEMY, WEST POINT, JUNE 13, 1916. FROM NEW YORK "TIMES," JUNE 14, 1916.

I LOOK upon this body of men who are graduating to-day with a peculiar interest. I feel like congratulating them that they are living in a day not only so interesting, because so fraught with change, but also because so responsible. Days of responsibility are the only days that count in time, because they are the only days that give test of quality. They are the only days when manhood and purpose is tried out as if by fire. I need not tell you young gentlemen that you are not like an ordinary graduating class of one of our universities. The men in those classes look forward to the life which they are to lead after graduation with a great many questions in their mind. Most of them do not know exactly what their lives are going to develop into. Some of them do not know what occupations they are going to follow. All of them are conjecturing what will be the line of duty and advancement and the ultimate goal of success for them.

There is no conjecture for you. You have enlisted in something that does not stop when you leave the Academy, for you then only begin to realize it, which then only begins to be filled with the full richness of its meaning, and you can look forward with absolute certainty to the sort of thing that you will be obliged to do.

This has always been true of graduating classes at West Point, but the certainty that some of the older classes used to look forward to was a dull certainty. Some of the old days in the army, I fancy, were not very interesting days. Sometimes men like the present Chief of Staff, for example, could fill their lives with

the interest of really knowing and understanding the Indians of the Western plains, knowing what was going on inside their minds and being able to be the intermediary between them and those who dealt with them, by speaking their sign language, could enrich their lives; but the ordinary life of the average officer at a Western post can not have been very exciting, and I think with admiration of those dull years through which officers who had not a great deal to do insisted, nevertheless, upon being efficient and worth while and keeping their men fit, at any rate, for the duty to which they were assigned.

But in your case there are many extraordinary possibilities, because, gentlemen, no man can certainly tell you what the immediate future is going to be either in the history of this country or in the history of the world. It is not by accident that the present great war came in Europe. Every element was there, and the contest had to come sooner or later, and it is not going to be by accident that the results are worked out, but by purpose —by the purpose of the men who are strong enough to have guiding minds and indomitable wills when the time for decision and settlement comes. And the part that the United States is to play has this distinction in it, that it is to be in any event a disinterested part. There is nothing that the United States wants that it has to get by war, but there are a great many things that the United States has to do. It has to see that its life is not interfered with by anybody else who wants something.

These are days when we are making preparation, when the thing most commonly discussed around every sort of table, in every sort of circle, in the shops and in the streets, is preparedness, and undoubtedly, gentlemen, that is the present imperative duty of America, to be prepared. But we ought to know what we are preparing for. I remember hearing a wise man say once that the old maxim that "everything comes to the man who waits" is all very well provided he knows what he

is waiting for; and preparedness might be a very hazardous thing if we did not know what we wanted to do with the force that we mean to accumulate and to get into fighting shape.

America, fortunately, does know what she wants to do with her force. America came into existence for a particular reason. When you look about upon those beautiful hills, and up this stately stream, and then let your imagination run over the whole body of this great country from which you youngsters are drawn, far and wide, you remember that while it had aboriginal inhabitants, while there were people living here, there was no civilization which we displaced. It was as if in the Providence of God a continent had been kept unused and waiting for a peaceful people who loved liberty and the rights of men more than they loved anything else, to come and set up an unselfish commonwealth. It is a very extraordinary thing. You are so familiar with American history, at any rate in its general character—I don't accuse you of knowing the details of it, for I never found the youngster who did—but you are so familiar with the general character of American history that it does not seem strange to you, but it is a very strange history. There is none other like it in the whole annals of mankind—of men gathering out of every civilized nation of the world on an unused continent and building up a polity exactly to suit themselves, not under the domination of any ruling dynasty or of the ambitions of any royal family; doing what they pleased with their own life on a free space of land which God had made rich with every resource which was necessary for the civilization they meant to build up. There is nothing like it.

Now, what we are preparing to do is to see that nobody mars that and that, being safe itself against interference from the outside, all of its force is going to be behind its moral idea, and mankind is going to know that when America speaks she means what she

says. I heard a man say to another, "If you wish me to consider you witty, I must really trouble you to make a joke." We have a right to say to the rest of mankind, "If you don't want to interfere with us, if you are disinterested, we must really trouble you to give the evidence of that fact." We are not in for anything selfish, and we want the whole mighty power of America thrown into that scale and not into any other.

You know that the chief thing that is holding many people back from enthusiasm for what is called preparedness is the fear of militarism. I want to say a word to you young gentlemen about militarism. You are not militarists because you are military. Militarism does not consist in the existence of an army, not even in the existence of a very great army. Militarism is a spirit. It is a point of view. It is a system. It is a purpose. The purpose of militarism is to use armies for aggression. The spirit of militarism is the opposite of the civilian spirit, the citizen spirit. In a country where militarism prevails the military man looks down upon the civilian, regards him as inferior, thinks of him as intended for his, the military man's, support and use; and just so long as America is America that spirit and point of view is impossible with us. There is as yet in this country, so far as I can discover, no taint of the spirit of militarism. You young gentlemen are not preferred in promotion because of the families you belong to. You are not drawn into the Academy because you belong to certain influential circles. You do not come here with a long tradition of military pride back of you.

You are picked out from the citizens of the United States to be that part of the force of the United States which makes its polity safe against interference. You are the part of American citizens who say to those who would interfere, "You must not" and "You shall not." But you are American citizens, and the idea I want to leave with you boys to-day is this: No matter what comes, always remember that first of all you

are citizens of the United States before you are officers, and that you are officers because you represent in your particular profession what the citizenship of the United States stands for. There is no danger of militarism if you are genuine Americans, and I for one do not doubt that you are. When you begin to have the militaristic spirit—not the military spirit, that is all right—then begin to doubt whether you are Americans or not.

You know that one thing in which our forefathers took pride was this, that the civil power is superior to the military power in the United States. Once and again the people of the United States have so admired some great military man as to make him President of the United States, when he became commander-in-chief of all the forces of the United States, but he was commander-in-chief because he was President, not because he had been trained to arms, and his authority was civil, not military. I can teach you nothing of military power, but I am instructed by the Constitution to use you for constitutional and patriotic purposes. And that is the only use you care to be put to. That is the only use you ought to care to be put to, because, after all, what is the use in being an American if you do not know what it is?

You have read a great deal in the books about the pride of the old Roman citizen, who always felt like drawing himself to his full height when he said, "I am a Roman," but as compared with the pride that must have risen to his heart, our pride has a new distinction, not the distinction of the mere imperial power of a great empire, not the distinction of being masters of the world, but the distinction of carrying certain lights for the world that the world has never so distinctly seen before, certain guiding lights of liberty and principle and justice. We have drawn our people, as you know, from all parts of the world, and we have been somewhat disturbed recently, gentlemen, because some of those—though I believe a very small number—whom

we have drawn into our citizenship have not taken into their hearts the spirit of America and have loved other countries more than they loved the country of their adoption; and we have talked a great deal about Americanism. It ought to be a matter of pride with us to know what Americanism really consists in.

Americanism consists in utterly believing in the principles of America and putting them first as above anything that might by chance come into competition with it. And I, for my part, believe that the American test is a spiritual test. If a man has to make excuses for what he has done as an American, I doubt his Americanism. He ought to know at every step of his action that the motive that lies behind what he does is a motive which no American need be ashamed of for a moment. Now, we ought to put this test to every man we know. We ought to let it be known that nobody who does not put America first can consort with us.

But we ought to set them the example. We ought to set them the example by thinking American thoughts, by entertaining American purposes, and those thoughts and purposes will stand the test of example anywhere in the world, for they are intended for the betterment of mankind.

So I have come to say these few words to you to-day, gentlemen, for a double purpose; first of all to express my personal good wishes to you in your graduation, and my personal interest in you, and second of all to remind you how we must all stand together in one spirit as lovers and servants of America. And that means something more than lovers and servants merely of the United States. You have heard of the Monroe Doctrine, gentlemen. You know that we are already spiritual partners with both continents of this hemisphere and that America means something which is bigger even than the United States, and that we stand here with the glorious power of this country ready to swing it out into the field of action whenever liberty and independ-

ence and political integrity are threatened anywhere in the Western Hemisphere. And we are ready—nobody has authorized me to say this, but I am sure of it—we are ready to join with the other nations of the world in seeing that the kind of justice prevails everywhere that we believe in.

So that you are graduating to-day, gentlemen, into a new distinction. Glory attaches to all these men whose names we love to recount who have made the annals of the American Army distinguished. They played the part they were called upon to play with honor and with extraordinary character and success. I am congratulating you, not because you will be better than they, but because you will have a wider world of thought and conception to play your part in. I am an American, but I do not believe that any of us loves a blustering nationality, a nationality with a chip on its shoulder, a nationality with its elbows out and its swagger on.

We love that quiet, self-respecting, unconquerable spirit which does not strike until it is necessary to strike, and then strikes to conquer. Never since I was a youngster have I been afraid of the noisy man. I have always been afraid of the still man. I have always been afraid of the quiet man. I had a classmate at college who was most dangerous when he was most affable. When he was maddest he seemed to have the sweetest temper in the world. He would approach you with the most ingratiating smile, and then you knew that every red corpuscle in his blood was up and shouting. If you work things off in your elbows, you do not work them off in your mind; you do not work them off in your purposes.

So my conception of America is a conception of infinite dignity, along with quiet, unquestionable power. I ask you, gentlemen, to join with me in that conception, and let us all in our several spheres be soldiers together to realize it.

THIS NATION IS AGAIN TO BE TESTED

FLAG DAY ADDRESS, WASHINGTON, JUNE 14, 1916.
FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FILES.

I HAVE not come here this afternoon with the purpose of delivering to you an elaborate address. It seems to me that the day is sufficiently eloquent already with the meaning which it should convey to us. The spectacle of the morning has been a very moving spectacle indeed—an almost unpremeditated outpouring of thousands of sober citizens to manifest their interest in the safety of the country and the sacredness of the flag which is its emblem.

I need not remind you how much sentiment has been poured out in honor of the flag of the United States. Sometimes we have been charged with being a very sentimental people, fond of expressing in general rhetorical phrases principles not sufficiently defined in action, and I dare say there have been times of happy and careless ease in this country when all that it has been necessary to do for the honor of the flag was to put our sentiments into poetic expressions, into the words that for the time being satisfied our hearts.

But this is not a day of sentiment. Sentiment is a propulsive power, but it does not propel in the way that is serviceable to the Nation, unless it have a definite purpose before it. This is not merely a day of sentiment. It is a day of purpose.

It is an eloquent symbol of the unity of our history that upon this monument which commemorates the man who did most to establish the American Union we should have hoisted those stars that have so multiplied since his time, associated with those lines of red and white, which mean all that is pure in our purpose and all that is red in our blood in the service of a Nation

whose history has been full of inspiration because of his example.

But Washington was one of the least sentimental men that America has ever produced. The thing that thrills me about Washington is that he is impatient of any sentiment that has not got definite purpose in it. His letters run along the lines of action, not merely along the mere lines of sentiment, and the most inspiring times that this Nation has ever seen have been the times when sentiment had to be translated into action.

Apparently this Nation is again and again and again to be tested, and always tested in the same way. The last supreme test that this Nation went through was the test of the Civil War.

You know how deep that cut. You know what exigent issues of life were at issue in that struggle. You know how two great sections of this Union seemed to be moving in opposite directions, and for a long time it was questionable whether that flag represented any one united purpose in America. And you know how deep that struggle cut into the sentiments of this people and how there came a whole generation following that great struggle when men's hearts were bitter and sore and memories hurt as well as exalted, and how it seemed as if a rift had come in the hearts of the people of America.

And you know how that ended. While it seemed a time of terror, it has turned out a proof of the validity of our hope. Where are now the divisions of sentiment which cut us asunder at the time of the Civil War? Did you not see the blue and the gray mingled this morning in the procession? Did you not see the sons of a subsequent generation walking together in happy comradeship? Was there any contradiction of feeling or division of sentiment evident there for a moment?

Nothing cuts so deep as a civil war, and yet all the wounds of that war have been healed not only, but the very passion of that war seems to have contributed to

the strength of national feeling which now moves us as a single body politic.

And yet again the test is applied, my fellow countrymen, a new sort of division of feeling has sprung up amongst us. You know that we are derived in our citizenship from every nation in the world. It is not singular that sentiment should be disturbed by what is going on on the other side of the water, but while sentiment may be disturbed, loyalty ought not to be.

I want to be scrupulously just, my fellow citizens, in assuming the circumstances of this day, and I am sure that you wish with me to deal out with an even hand the praise and the blame of this day of test.

I believe that the vast majority of those men whose lineage is directly derived from the nations now at war are just as loyal to the flag of the United States as any native citizen of this beloved land, but there are some men of that extraction who are not; and they, not only in past months, but at the present time, are doing their best to undermine the influence of the Government of the United States in the interest of matters which are foreign to us and which are not derived from the questions of our own politics.

There is disloyalty active in the United States, and it must be absolutely crushed. It proceeds from a minority, a very small minority, but a very active and subtle minority. It works underground, but it also shows its ugly head where we can see it; and there are those at this moment who are trying to levy a species of political blackmail, saying, "Do what we wish in the interest of foreign sentiment or we will wreak our vengeance at the polls."

That is the sort of thing against which the American Nation will turn with a might and triumph of sentiment which will teach these gentlemen once for all that loyalty to this flag is the first test of tolerance in the United States.

That is the lesson that I have come to remind you of

on this day—no mere sentiment. It runs into your daily life and conversation. Are you going yourselves, individually and collectively, to see to it that no man is tolerated who does not do honor to that flag?

It is not a matter of force. It is not a matter, that is to say, of physical force. It is a matter of a greater force than that which is physical. It is a matter of spiritual force. It is to be achieved as we think, as we purpose, as we believe, and when the world finally learns that America is indivisible, then the world will learn how truly and profoundly great and powerful America is.

I realize personally, my fellow citizens, that peculiar significance of the flag of the United States at this time, because there was a day not many years ago when, although I knew what that flag stood for, it had not penetrated my whole consciousness as it has now.

If you could have gone with me through the space of the last two years, and could have felt the subtle impact of intrigue and sedition and have realized with me that those to whom you have intrusted authority are trustees, not only of the power, but of the very spirit and purpose of the United States, you would realize with me the solemnity with which I look upon that sublime symbol of our unity and power.

I want you to share that consciousness with me. I want you to realize that in what I am saying I am merely your spokesman, merely trying to interpret your thoughts, merely trying to put into inadequate words the purpose that is in your hearts. I regard this day as a day of rededication to all the ideals of the United States.

I took the liberty a few weeks ago to ask our fellow citizens all over the United States to gather together in celebration of this day, the anniversary of the adoption of our present flag as the emblem of the Nation. I had no legal right to declare it a holiday, I had no legal right to ask for the cessation of business, but when

you read in the papers to-morrow morning I think you will see that authority was not necessary; that the people of the country were waiting for an opportunity to cease their ordinary business and gather together in united demonstration of their feeling as a Nation.

It was a very happy thought that led the committee of gentlemen who had charge of the demonstration of the forenoon to choose the 14th of June for the parade which most of us have witnessed. It is a tiresome thing, my fellow citizens, to stand for hours and see a parade go by, but I want to take you into this secret: It was not half as tiresome as the inauguration parade.

The inauguration parade is a very interesting thing, but it is painfully interesting to the man who is being inaugurated, because there then lie ahead of him the four years of responsibility whose horoscope can not be cast by any man.

But to-day was interesting, because the inauguration parade of the day of my inauguration is more than three years gone by. I have gone through deep waters with you in the meantime.

This parade was not a demonstration in honor of any man. It was an outpouring of people to demonstrate a great national sentiment. I was not the object of it. I was one citizen among millions whose heart beat in unison with it.

I felt caught up and buoyed along by the great stream of human purpose which seemed to flow there in front of me by the stand by the White House, and I shall go away from this meeting as I came away from that parade, with all the deepest purposes of my heart renewed, and as I see the winds lovingly unfold the beautiful lines of our great flag I shall seem to see a hand pointing the way of duty, no matter how hard, no matter how long, which we shall tread while we vindicate the glory and honor of the United States.

I AM ALL SORTS OF A DEMOCRAT

ADDRESS BEFORE THE ASSOCIATED ADVERTISING CLUBS, PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 29, 1916. FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FILES.

YOU will understand that I have not come here to make an extended address. I do not need to explain to you the circumstances which have made it impossible that I should prepare an extended address, but I count myself very fortunate to be able to leave my duties at Washington long enough to face this interesting company of men who have the very fine conception that it is their duty to lift the standards and ideals of their profession.

I understand, gentlemen, that you have associated yourselves together in order to promote candor and truth in the advertisement of your business. I wish very much, gentlemen, that candor and truth might always be the standard of politics as well as the standard of business. I want to challenge your attention for a moment to this aspect of your activities. I do not see how a man can devote himself to candor and truth in the promotion of a particular business without studying the life of the great nation to whom he addresses his advertising. I do not see how a man can fail, having established the horizon of his business where the great hills of truth lie, to lift his eyes to the great multitude of laboring men and striving women who constitute a great nation like ours, and in the very act of addressing them get in his own consciousness some part of the impulse of their life. You cannot commend your business to people that you do not understand, and you cannot understand the people of the United States without wishing to serve them.

So I come to you with this thought: America is at

a point, gentlemen, where it is more than ever necessary that she should understand her own ideals not only, but be ready to put them into action at any cost. It is one thing to entertain fine principles and another thing to make them work. It is one thing to entertain them in the formulæ of words like the splendid words which were uttered and gave distinction to this ancient and historic building behind me, but it is another thing to do what those same men did, make those words live in the action of their lives. And America is summoned in each new generation to renew not only the pledges that those men made, but to renew the example which they gave to the world.

I am not interested, and I beg that you will believe me when I say that I never have been interested, in fighting for myself, but I am immensely interested in fighting for the things that I believe in, and so far as they are concerned I am a challenger to all comers. It is important, therefore, since I am in fighting mood, to let you know what are some of the things that I do believe in.

In the first place, I believe, and I summon you to show your belief in the same thing, that it is the duty of every American in everything that he does, in his business and out of it, to think first, not of himself or of any interest which he may be called upon to sacrifice, but of the country which we serve. "America first" means nothing until you translate it into what you do. So I believe most profoundly in the duty of every American to exalt the national consciousness by purifying his own motives and exhibiting his own devotion.

I believe, in the second place, that America, the country that we put first in our thoughts, should be ready in every point of policy and of action to vindicate at whatever cost the principles of liberty, of justice, and of humanity to which we have been devoted from the first. [Cheers.] You cheer the sentiment, but do you realize what it means? It means that you have not only got

to be just to your fellow men, but that as a nation you have got to be just to other nations. It comes high. It is not an easy thing to do. It is easy to think first of the material interest of America, but it is not easy to think first of what America, if she loves justice, ought to do in the field of international affairs. I believe that at whatever cost America should be just to other peoples and treat other peoples as she demands that they should treat her. She has a right to demand that they treat her with justice and respect, and she has a right to insist that they treat her in that fashion, but she cannot with dignity or with self-respect insist upon that unless she is willing to act in the same fashion toward them. That I am ready to fight for at any cost to myself.

Then, in the third place, touching ourselves more intimately, my fellow citizens, this is what I believe: If I understand the life of America, the central principle of it is this, that no small body of persons, no matter how influential, shall be trusted to determine the policy and development of America. You know what you want in your business. You want a fair field and no favor. You want to be given the same opportunity that other men have, not only to make known what you have to sell, but to sell it under as favorable conditions as anybody else. The principle of the life of America is that she draws her vitality, not from small bodies of men who may wish to assume the responsibility of guiding and controlling her, but from the great body of thinking and toiling and planning men from whom she draws her energy and vitality as a nation. I believe, and this is the reason I am a Democrat, not merely with a big "D" but with a little "d"—I am all kinds of a democrat, so far as I can discover— but the root of the whole business is this, that I believe in the patriotism and energy and initiative of the average man. Some men say they believe in it, but when they act, they show that they do not. They show that they think the only

advice that it is safe to take is their advice. [Voice in crowd: "Oh, you Teddy!"]

I was not referring to any individual, but I could give you an interesting and a very short list of a group of individuals who have that opinion, namely, that it is not safe for the United States to escape from their control. I feel perfectly safe in the hands of the average body of my fellow citizens. You are bound to feel safe in their hands. If they do not believe in you, you cannot sell anything. If they do not believe in you, you can not conduct your business. Your vitality comes from them to you; it does not go from you to them. The theory of government which I decline to subscribe to is that the vitality of the nation comes out of closeted councils where a few men determine the policy of the country.

So, gentlemen, I feel at home in this company, not because I advertise, but because I have got principles that I am perfectly willing to expose to the public view, and because I want to express my sympathy with, not only, but my admiration for a body of men who think it is worth while to get together in order to tell the truth. The only thing that ever set any man free, the only thing that ever set any nation free, is the truth. A man that is afraid of the truth is afraid of the law of life. A man that does not love the truth is in the way of decay and of failure, and I believe that if you will just let the vitality that is in you and the enthusiasm that is in you run beyond the confines of the businesses that you may be interested in, you will presently feel that infinite reward, as if the red blood of a whole nation came surging back into your own veins.

Can you imagine, my fellow countrymen, a more inspiring thing than to belong to a free nation and make your way among men every one of whom has the right and the opportunity to say what he thinks. Criticism does not hurt anybody. I heard an old politician once say to his son, "John, don't bother your head about lies

and slanders; they will take care of themselves, but if you ever hear me denying anything, you may make up your mind that it is so." When you see a man wincing under criticism, you may know that something hit him that was so. And, therefore, when they are saying the things that are not true, there is no credit in keeping your head and not minding it. I have such an inveterate confidence in the ultimate triumph of the truth that I feel, with old Doctor Oliver Wendell Holmes, that the truth is no invalid, and you need not mind how roughly you handle her. She has got a splendid constitution and she will survive every trial and every labor.

I have come, therefore, as I have abundantly shown you, not to make a formal speech—if I could show you some of the things I have been obliged to do before I came here, you would know that I could not possibly make up a speech—but merely to show my profound interest in a body of men who are not only devoted to business but devoted to ideals. Business is all right so long as it is not sordid, and it cannot be sordid if it is shot through with ideals. A man, no matter how humble his business, can hold his head up among the princes of the world if, as they ought to do, he will think of himself as the servant of the people and not as their master, as one who would serve and not as one who would govern.

I congratulate you, my fellow citizens, upon the ideals of a profession which can lower or exalt business, as you choose, and which you have chosen to employ for its exaltation. I came away from Washington to look into your faces and get some of the enthusiasm which I always get when I come away from officialdom and touch hand to hand with great bodies of the free American people.

WE ARE SERVANTS OF THE RANK AND FILE OF THE PEOPLE

ADDRESS BEFORE THE PRESS CLUB, NEW YORK, JUNE 30, 1916. FROM THE "CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 64TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION, VOL. 53, PP. 11925-11926.

I REALIZE that I have done a very impudent thing; I have come to address this thoughtful company of men without any preparation whatever. If I could have written as witty a speech as Mr. Pulitzer, I would have written it. If I could have written as clear an enunciation of the fundamental ideas of American patriotism as the mayor, I should have attempted it. If I could have been as appealing a person and of as feeling a heart as Mr. Cobb, I would have felt safe.

If I could have been as generous and interesting and genuine as Mr. Colby, I should have felt that I could let myself go without any preparation. But, gentlemen, as a matter of fact, I have been absorbed by the responsibilities which have been so frequently referred to here to-night, and that preoccupation has made it impossible for me to forecast even what you would like to hear me talk about.

There is something very oddly contradictory about the effect you men have on me. You are sometimes, particularly in your photographic enterprises, very brutal to me, and you sometimes invade my privacy, even to the extent of formulating my judgments before they are formed, and yet I am tempted when I stand face to face with you to take off all guard and merely expose myself to you as the fallible human being that I am.

Mr. Colby said something that was among the few things I had forecast to say myself. He said that there

are some things which it is really useless to debate, because they go as a matter of course.

Of course it is our duty to prepare this Nation to take care of its honor and of its institutions. Why debate any part of that, except the detail, except the plan itself, which is always debatable?

Of course it is the duty of the Government, which it will never overlook, to defend the territory and people of this country. It goes without saying that it is the duty of the administration to have constantly in mind with the utmost sensitiveness every point of national honor.

But, gentlemen, after you have said and accepted these obvious things your program of action is still to be formed. When will you act and how will you act?

The easiest thing is to strike. The brutal thing is the impulsive thing. No man has to think before he takes aggressive action; but before a man really conserves the honor by realizing the ideals of the Nation he has to think exactly what he will do and how he will do it.

Do you think the glory of America would be enhanced by a war of conquest in Mexico? Do you think that any act of violence by a powerful nation like this against a weak and destructive neighbor would reflect distinction upon the annals of the United States?

Do you think that it is our duty to carry self-defense to a point of dictation into the affairs of another people? The ideals of America are written plain upon every page of American history.

And I want you to know how fully I realize whose servant I am. I do not own the Government of the United States, even for the time being. I have no right in the use of it to express my own passions.

I have no right to express my own ambitions for the development of America if those ambitions are not coincident with the ambitions of the Nation itself.

And I have constantly to remind myself that I am not

the servant of those who wish to enhance the value of their Mexican investments, that I am the servant of the rank and file of the people of the United States.

I get a great many letters, my fellow citizens, from important and influential men in this country, but I get a great many other letters. I get letters from unknown men, from humble women, from people whose names have never been heard and never will be recorded, and there is but one prayer in all of these letters: "Mr. President, do not allow anybody to persuade you that the people of this country want war with anybody."

I got off a train yesterday and as I was bidding goodby to the engineer he said, in an undertone, "Mr. President, keep out of Mexico." And if one man has said that to me a thousand have said it to me as I have moved about the country.

If I have opportunity to engage them further in conversation, they say, "Of course, we know that you can not govern the circumstances of the case altogether, and it may be necessary; but for God's sake do not do it unless it is necessary."

I am for the time being the spokesman of such people, gentlemen. I have not read history without observing that the greatest forces in the world and the only permanent forces are the moral forces.

We have the evidence of a very competent witness, namely, the first Napoleon, who said that as he looked back in the last days of his life upon so much as he knew of human history he had to record the judgment that force had never accomplished anything that was permanent.

Force will not accomplish anything that is permanent, I venture to say, in the great struggle which is going on on the other side of the sea. The permanent things will be accomplished afterwards, when the opinion of mankind is brought to bear upon the issues, and the only thing that will hold the world steady is this same silent, insistent, all-powerful opinion of mankind.

Force can sometimes hold things steady until opinion has time to form, but no force that was ever exerted, except in response to that opinion, was ever a conquering and predominant force.

I think the sentence in American history that I myself am proudest of is that in the introductory sentences of the Declaration of Independence, where the writers say that a due respect for the opinion of mankind demands that they state the reasons for what they are about to do.

I venture to say that a decent respect for the opinions of mankind demanded that those who started the present European war should have stated their reasons; but they did not pay any heed to the opinion of mankind, and the reckoning will come when the settlement comes.

So, gentlemen, I am willing, no matter what my personal fortunes may be, to play for the verdict of mankind. Personally, it will be a matter of indifference to me what the verdict on the 7th of November is, provided I feel any degree of confidence that when a later jury sits I shall get their judgment in my favor. Not my favor personally—what difference does that make?—but in my favor as an honest and conscientious spokesman of a great national convention.

There are some gentlemen who are under the delusion that the power of a nation comes from the top. It does not. It comes from the bottom.

Power and virtue of the tree does not come from the blossoms and fruit down into the roots, but it comes from the roots in the obscure passage of the earth where the power is derived, which displays itself in the blossoms and the fruit; and I know that among the silent, speechless masses of the American people is slowly coming up the sap of moral purpose and love of justice and reverence for humanity which constitutes the only virtue and distinction of the American people.

Look for your rulers of the future! Can you pick

out the families that are to produce them? Can you pick out the localities that are going to produce them?

You have heard what has been said about Abraham Lincoln. It is singular how touching every reference to Abraham Lincoln is. It always makes you feel that you wish you had been there to help him in some fashion to fight the battles that he was fighting, sometimes almost alone.

Could you have predicted, if you had seen Abraham Lincoln's birth and boyhood, where that great ruling figure of the world was going to spring from?

I have presided over a university, but I never deceived myself by supposing that by university processes you were producing the ruling forces of the world.

I knew that all a university could do if it knew its business was to interpret the moral forces of the world and let the young man, who sat under its influence, know the very truth of truths about where it came from, and that no man could produce it unless he felt in his blood every corpuscle spring into delightful life with the mention of ideals which have lifted men slowly, oh, so slowly, up the arduous grades, which have resisted the progress since the world began.

So, gentlemen, I have not come here to-night to do anything but to remind that you do not constitute the United States; that I do not constitute the United States; that it is something bigger and greater and finer than any of us; that it was born in an ideal, and only by pursuing an ideal in the face of every adverse circumstance will it continue to deserve the beloved name which we love and for which we are ready to die, the name "America."

MEN ARE GOVERNED BY THEIR EMOTIONS

ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE FEDERATION OF LABOR BUILDING, WASHINGTON, JULY 4, 1916. FROM THE "CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 64TH CONGRESS IST SESSION, VOL. 53, PP. 12127-12128.

MR. GOMPERS is generally very happy in his choice of words, but he used one word just now from which I wish to demur. I am not here to adorn the occasion, but I am here to express my very deep interest in it and to show how near it lies to my own heart that the legitimate objects of the great labor movement should be achieved.

It seems to me that it is a happy conjunction of time and occasion, because we should never make any new move or establish any new instrumentality which will affect the national life without thinking of the national life and how it will be affected and how we can serve it. It is very proper that this great building should in this wise be dedicated on the birthday of the Nation. You know, my fellow citizens, that the mind needs air to breathe just as the body does. You can not rise to the tasks of the day with any kind of zest and interest unless you know their significance; and they have a very narrow significance if you merely look upon them as a means of keeping body and soul together. It seems to me, therefore, that the most heartening thing that a man can do is to think as often as he can of the relation which his work bears to the place he lives in, to the State he lives in, and to the country he lives in. You know that every man who is a man takes some pride in doing his work well, but why should he take pride in it? Merely to glorify and distinguish himself from the common run of workers? That will only make a prig of him. A man who works in order that he may be dis-

tinguished is sooner or later going to do some selfish thing that will disgrace him, because his object is himself and not the ideals which he serves. And therefore it seems to me that every one of us should remind himself every day that he is working for something besides wages; that he is working for some persons whom he loves, for some community that he wishes to assist, for some nation that he is ready to serve and defend. That is the reason why, it seems to me, this is a happy conjunction of day and occasion. Because, my fellow citizens, you will realize that in a position such as I occupy for the time being, I am not at liberty to think of any one class of our fellow citizens to the exclusion of any other class, and since I have been asked to make the dedicatory address of this building, I am going to take the liberty of dedicating it to common counsel and a common understanding. I am going to take the liberty of dedicating it to the thing that I believe in most, the accommodation of the interests of various classes in the community by means of enabling those classes to understand one another and co-operate with one another.

The way we generally strive for rights is by getting our fighting blood up, and I venture to say that that is the long way and not the short way. If you come at me with your fists doubled, I think I can promise you that mine will double as fast as yours; but if you come at me and say, "Let us sit down and take counsel together and, if we differ with one another, understand why it is that we differ with one another, just what the points at issue are," we will presently find that we are not so far apart after all; that the points in which we differ are few and the points in which we agree are many, and that if we only have the patience and the candor and the desire to get together we will get together.

The trouble in a great many of the labor contests we have had, my fellow citizens, as you will bear me out in saying, is that one side or the other did not wish to sit down and talk it over and that the great difficulty in

the settlement of a great many labor disputes has been the difficulty of getting candid and dispassionate conference with regard to the points at issue. The great difficulty about the relationship between capital and labor is this: Labor is in immediate contact with the task itself, with the work, with the conditions of the work, with the tools with which it is done and the circumstances under which they are used, whereas capital in too many instances is at a great remove. It is owned and controlled by many who have not taken the pains to go and see the workers at their work and know just what the circumstances are; and the thing most to be desired is that capital should be humanized by being brought into a comprehending contact with the conditions of labor. You have seen what has happened in some instances. You have seen men who had sat in their offices in some great city and directed the use of capital presently realize that they did not know how it was being used and themselves go to the factory which their capital operated or the mines which were worked by the use of their capital, themselves don overalls and go into the bowels of the earth or through, it may be, greasy processes of the factory and come out with an entirely different range of comprehension as to what it was all about and a signally increased capacity to understand the point of view of the man who was actually doing the work. That is the kind of thing which I like to see done, and that is the kind of thing that we ought to talk about on the Fourth of July.

The Fourth of July was a day when a great union was formed, but it was not a union of any one class or body of persons in that little Nation of 3,000,000 that formed it. It was a union of all the people for common objects, and no man is a true American who does not realize that all the objects of our national life are common objects, and not separate objects. But it is easy to say, my fellow citizens, and it is very hard to put it into practice. A great many men come to see me and tell me a

great many things, some of which I believe; but if I were to listen with greater comprehension than I have to everything that they tell me, I would realize when the day's work was over that I could not hold in my single comprehension the infinitely varied, complex life of this great country to which we belong. It takes a multitude of minds to comprehend the United States, and that is the reason that I think a building like this should be devoted to the process which pool our understandings. Nobody has got enough by himself to run the country. We have got to pool our understandings, and with regard to every problem which affects labor, this great building ought to be the place to pool our understandings. Every counsel that goes forth from these offices should be a counsel of conference, of mutual comprehension, if possible of mutual accommodation, because every one of us has some part in the infinitely difficult task of driving this Nation as a team, not as a body of contesting elements. We ought to be all comprehended in one spiritual organization from which no individual or group of individuals will allow himself or itself to be torn away.

You know we used to hear very ornate orations on the Fourth of July. All the highly colored words of the very varied vocabulary of our great language were called into commission on that day to glorify the Stars and Stripes, and I remember that when I was younger and had been immersed in fewer difficulties than recently, I used to thrill with those words and think they meant something, but I now know that rhetoric does not get to the heart of it. Flag after flag went by in that procession just now; every one of those flags ought to have suggested to every one of us that we have not yet fulfilled the full conscientious duty of America in understanding each other and, through comprehension of each other, understanding and serving the world. America did not come into existence to make one more great nation in the family of nations, to show its

strength and to exercise mastery. America opened her doors to everybody who wanted to be free and to have the same opportunity that everybody else had to make the most of his faculties and his opportunities, and America will retain its greatness only so long as it retains and seeks to realize those ideals. No man ought to suffer injustice in America. No man ought in America to fail to see the deep dictates of humanity.

Mr. Gompers was referring just now to the sixth section of the Clayton antitrust law, the section in which the obvious is stated, namely, that a man's labor is not a commodity, but a part of his life, and that, therefore, the courts must not treat it as if it were a commodity, but must treat it as if it were a part of his life. I am sorry that there were any judges in the United States who had to be told that. It is so obvious that it seems to me that that section of the Clayton Act were a return to the primer of human liberty; but if judges have to have the primer opened before them, I am willing to open it. If any part of the United States, through habit, through ancient prejudice, through long addiction to technical ideas, insists upon living in an age which everybody else with his eyes open knows has gone by, why, then, we have got to sound some great note that will wake them up, but wake them up always to the same thing, with which we should thrill as well as others; that it is take as well as give; that the other man has as much right as we have; that we are not to seek for an advantage, but for an equality; that though we have been put upon, we do not desire to see any other man put upon, or any other class, but that we should all have as our highest ideal merely to bask in that only nourishing sun that has ever shone upon the human heart, the sun of justice and of truth and of humanity.

Mr. Gompers spoke just now, and I dare say truthfully, as if it were somewhat a matter of surprise that the President of the United States should recognize the great labor movement by his presence on an occasion

like this. I am sorry for any President of the United States who does not recognize every great movement in the Nation. The minute he stops recognizing it he has become a back number. And how anybody could overlook this movement I cannot imagine—a movement so fraught with all sorts of things that appeal to the reason and to the heart. You cannot go deep into any argument with a workingman interested in the rights of other workingmen as well as his own without finding that a deep emotion underlies the argument. And, my fellow citizens, I want to remind you that we are governed by our emotions very much more than we are governed by our reason. It is a very dangerous fact, but a very profoundly interesting one, that a man follows his heart more often than he follows his head, and when he follows his heart it is of primary importance that his heart should be right and not wrong. Somebody said to me once that this was the day in which mind was monarch, and I replied that if that was true I ventured to say that mind as one of those modern monarchs that reigned but did not govern; that, as a matter of fact, we were governed by a great popular assembly made up of the passions, and that the most we could effect was that the handsome passions should be in a working majority. It is the business, therefore, of every organization like the American Federation of Labor to see to it that the handsome passions have a working majority, and to summon everybody with whom they deal to put their best representative handsome passions into the conference, so that heart may meet with heart as well as mind with mind, and one great emotion shall at once sway and unite us, the emotion of a mutual affection and a mutual comprehension.

FIGHTING IS THE SLOW WAY TO PEACE

ADDRESS BEFORE THE SALESMANSHIP CONGRESS, DETROIT, MICHIGAN, JULY 10, 1916. FROM THE "CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 64TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION, VOL. 53, APPENDIX, PP. 1480-1482.

IT is with a great deal of gratification that I find myself facing so interesting and important a company as this. You will readily understand that I have not come here to make an elaborate address, but I have come here to express my interest in the objects of this great association, and to congratulate you on the opportunities which are immediately ahead of you in handling the business of this country.

These are days of incalculable change, my fellow citizens. It is impossible for anybody to predict anything that is certain, in detail, with regard to the future either of this country or of the world in the large movements of business; but one thing is perfectly clear, and that is that the United States will play a new part, and that it will be a part of unprecedented opportunity and of greatly increased responsibilities.

The United States has had a very singular history in respect of its business relationships with the rest of the world. I have always believed, and I think you have always believed, that there is more business genius in the United States than anywhere else in the world; and yet America has apparently been afraid of touching too intimately the great processes of international exchange. America, of all countries in the world, has been timid; has not until recently, has not until within the last two or three years, provided itself with the fundamental instrumentalities for playing a large part in the trade of the world. America, which ought to have had the broadest vision of any nation, has raised

up an extraordinary number of provincial thinkers, men who thought provincially about business, men who thought that the United States was not ready to take her competitive part in the struggle for the peaceful conquest of the world. For anybody who reflects philosophically upon the history of this country, that is the most amazing fact about it.

But the time for provincial thinkers has gone by. We must play a great part in the world whether we choose it or not. Do you know the significance of this single fact, that within the last year or two we have, speaking in large terms, ceased to be a debtor nation and become a creditor nation? We have more of the surplus gold of the world than we ever had before, and our business hereafter is to be to lend and to help and to promote the great peaceful enterprises of the world. We have got to finance the world in some important degree, and those who finance the world must understand it and rule it with their spirits and with their minds. We can not cabin and confine ourselves any longer, and so I said that I came here to congratulate you upon the great rôle that lies ahead of you to play. This is a salesmanship congress, and hereafter salesmanship will have to be closely related in its outlook and scope to statesmanship, to international statesmanship. It will have to be touched with an intimate comprehension of the conditions of business enterprise throughout the round globe, because America will have to place her goods by running her intelligence ahead of her goods. No amount of mere push, no amount of mere bustling, or, to speak in the western language, no amount of mere rustling, no amount of mere active enterprise, will suffice.

There have been two ways of doing business in the world outside of the lands in which the great manufactures have been made. One has been to try to force the tastes of the manufacturing country on the country in which the markets were being sought, and the other

way has been to study the tastes and needs of the countries where the markets were being sought and suit your goods to those tastes and needs; and the latter method has beaten the former method. If you are going to sell carpets, for example, in India, you have got to have as good taste as the Indians in the patterns of the carpets, and that is going some. If you are going to sell things in tropical countries, they must, rather obviously, be different from those which you sell in cold and arctic countries. You cannot assume that the rest of the world is going to wear or use or manufacture what you wear and use and manufacture. Your raw materials must be the raw materials that they need, not the raw materials that you need. Your manufactured goods must be the manufactured goods which they desire, not those which other markets have desired. So your business will keep pace with your knowledge, not of yourself and of your manufacturing processes, but of them and of their commercial needs. That is statesmanship, because that is relating your international activities to the conditions which exist in other countries.

If we can once get what some gentlemen are so loath to give us, a merchant marine! The trouble with some men is that they are slow in their minds. They do not see; they do not know the need, and they will not allow you to point it out to them. If we can once get in a position to deliver our own goods, then the goods that we have to deliver will be adjusted to the desires of those to whom we deliver them, and all the world will welcome America in the great field of commerce and manufacture.

I was trying to expound in another place the other day the long way and the short way to get together. The long way is to fight. I hear some gentlemen say that they want to help Mexico, and the way they propose to help her is to overwhelm her with force. That is the long way to help Mexico as well as the wrong

way because after the fighting you have a nation full of justified suspicion and animated by well-founded hostility and hatred, and then will you help them? Then will you establish cordial business relationships with them? Then will you go in as neighbors and enjoy their confidence? On the contrary, you will have shut every door as if it were of steel against you. What makes Mexico suspicious of us is that she does not believe as yet that we want to serve her. She believes that we want to possess her, and she has justification for the belief in the way in which some of our fellow-citizens have tried to exploit her privileges and possessions. For my part, I will not serve the ambitions of these gentlemen, but I will try to serve all America, so far as intercourse with Mexico is concerned, by trying to serve Mexico herself. There are some things that are not debatable. Of course, we have to defend our border. That goes without saying. Of course, we must make good our own sovereignty, but we must respect the sovereignty of Mexico. I am one of those—I have sometimes suspected that there were not many of them —who believe, absolutely believe, the Virginia Bill of Rights, which was the model of the old bills of rights, which says that a people has a right to do anything they please with their own country and their own government. I am old-fashioned enough to believe that, and I am going to stand by that belief. (That is for the benefit of those gentlemen who wish to butt in.)

Now, I use that as an illustration, my fellow citizens. What do we all most desire when the present tragical confusion of the world's affairs is over? We desire permanent peace, do we not? Permanent peace can grow in only one soil. That is the soil of actual good will, and good will can not exist without mutual comprehension.

Charles Lamb, the English writer, made a very delightful remark that I have long treasured in my memory. He stuttered a little bit, and he said of some one

who was not present "I h-h-hate that m-man"; and some one said, "why, Charles, I didn't know you knew him." "Oh" he said, "I-I-I don't, I-I can't h-hate a m-man I know." That is a profound human remark. You cannot hate a man you know. I know some rascals that I have tried to hate.

I have tried to head them off as rascals, but I have been unable to hate them. I have liked them. And so, not to compare like with unlike in the relationship of nations with each other, many of our antagonisms are based upon misunderstandings; and as long as you do not understand a country you cannot trade with it. As long as you can not take its point of view, you can not commend your goods to its purchase. As long as you go to it with a supercilious air, for example, and patronize it, as we have tried to do in some less developed countries, and tell them that this is what they ought to want, whether they want it or not, you cannot do business with them. You have got to approach them just as you ought to approach all matters of human relationship. These people who give their money to philanthropy, for example, but cannot for the life of them see from the point of view of those for whose benefit they are giving the money, are not philanthropists. They endow and promote philanthropy, but you can not be a philanthropist unless you love all sorts and conditions of men. The great barrier in this world, I have sometimes thought, is not the barrier of principles, but the barrier of taste. Certain classes of society find certain other classes of society distasteful to them. They do not like the way they dress; they do not like the infrequency with which they bathe; they do not like to consort with them under the conditions under which they live; and, therefore, they stand at a distance from them and it is impossible for them to serve them, because they do not understand them and do not feel that common pulse of humanity and that common school of

experience which is the only thing that builds us together and educates us in the same fashion.

This, then, my friends, is the simple message that I bring you. Lift your eyes to the horizons of business; do not look too close at the little processes with which you are concerned, but let your thoughts and your imaginations run abroad throughout the whole world, and with the inspiration of the thought that you are Americans and are meant to carry liberty and justice and the principles of humanity wherever you go, go out and sell goods that will make the world more comfortable and more happy, and convert them to the principles of America.

TRYING TO HELP BUSINESS

A LUNCHEON ADDRESS, DETROIT, MICHIGAN, JULY 10, 1916. FROM THE "CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 64TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION, VOL. 53, PP. 1480-1482.

I AM glad to find myself in Detroit and face to face with the men who have played the principal part in giving it distinction throughout the country and throughout the world. Looking about among you, I see that it is true in this matter, as in others, that the only men fit for such a job are young men and men who never grow old. There is the liveliness of youth in the eyes even of those of you who have shared with me the painful parting with the hirsute appendage. I have been interested in some things that Mr. Denby has said to me to-day. He has shamefacedly admitted that he has found himself enjoying the companionships of Democrats. Now, I have long enjoyed the friendship and companionship of Republicans, because I am by instinct a teacher, and I would like to teach them something. We have been trying, some of us, for a good many years to teach in politics, as well as elsewhere, this lesson, that we are all in the same boat; we have common interests, and it is our business to understand and serve those common interests. The great difficulty that has confronted us has often been that we have deliberately looked at these common interests from self-chosen angles which made them look as if some of us were separated from others and as if some of us wanted to depress business, for example, and others of us wanted to exalt business. I dare say that you have noticed that the same necessity to make a living is imposed upon Democrats as Republicans, and I dare say you are ready to believe that Democrats are just as willing to make a good living as Republicans. There-

fore it seems to me logically to follow, though I have been quoted as having no regard for logic, that Democrats are naturally as much interested in the business prosperity of the United States as anybody else. So that if you believe that they are not as fitted to guide it as other persons you cannot be doubting their interest; you are only impugning their intelligence. And some Democrats had noticed that the inclination to suppose that only some persons understood the business of America had a tendency to run into the assumption that the number of persons who understood that business was very small and that there were only certain groups and associations of gentlemen who were entitled to be trustees of that business for the rest of us.

I have never subscribed in any walk of life to the trustee theory. I have always been inclined to believe that the business of the world was best understood by those men who were in the struggle for maintenance not only, but for success. The man who knows the strength of the tide is the man who is swimming against it, not the man who is floating with it. The man who is immersed in the beginnings of business, who is trying to get his foothold, who is trying to get other men to believe in him and lend him money and trust him to make profitable use of that money, is the man who knows what the business conditions in the United States are, and I would rather take his counsel as to what ought to be done for business than the counsel of any established captain of industry. The captain of industry is looking backward and the other man is looking forward. The conditions of business change with every generation; change with every decade; are now changing at an almost breathless pace, and the men who have made good are not feeling the tides as the other men are feeling them. The men who have got into the position of captaincy, unless they are of unusual fiber, unless they are of unusually catholic sympathy, unless they have continued to touch shoulder with the ranks, unless

they have continued to keep close communion with the men they are employing and the young men they are bringing up as their assistants, do not belong to the struggle in which we should see that every unreasonable obstacle is removed and every reasonable help afforded that public policy can afford.

So I invite your thoughts, in what I sincerely believe to be an entirely nonpartisan spirit, to the democracy of business. An act was recently passed in Congress that some of the most intelligent business men of this country earnestly opposed—men whom I knew, men whose character I trusted, men whose integrity I absolutely believed in. I refer to the Federal Reserve Act, by which we intended to take, and succeeded in taking, credit out of the control of a small number of men and making it available to everybody who had real commercial assets, and the very men who opposed that act, and opposed it conscientiously, now admit that it saved the country from a ruinous panic when the stress of war came on, and that it is the salvation of every average business man who is in the midst of the tides that I have been trying to describe.

What does that mean, gentlemen? It means that you can get a settled point of view and can conscientiously oppose progress if you do not need progress yourself. That is what it means. I am not impugning the intelligence even of the men who opposed things, because the same thing happens to every man if he is not of extraordinary makeup if he cannot see the necessity for a thing that he does not himself need. When you have abundant credit and control of credit you, of course, do not need that the area of credit should be broadened.

The suspicion is beginning to dawn in many quarters that the average man knows the business necessities of the country just as well as the extraordinary man does. I believe in the ordinary man. If I did not believe in the ordinary man I would move out of a democracy

and, if I could find a decent monarchy, I would live in it. The very conception of America is based upon the validity of the judgments of the average man, and I call you to witness that there have not been many catastrophes in American history. I call you to witness that the average judgments of the voters of the United States have been sound judgments. I call you to witness that this great impulse of the common opinion has been a lifting impulse, and not a depressing impulse. What is the object of associations like that which is gathered here to-day, this Salesmanship Congress? The moral of it is that a few men can not determine the interests of a large body of men, and that the only way to determine them and advance them is to have a representative assembly chosen by themselves get together and take common counsel regarding them.

And do you not notice that in every great occupation in the United States there is beginning to be more and more of this common counsel? And have you not noticed that the more common counsel you have, the higher the standards are that are insisted upon?

I attended the other day a congress of the advertising men, and their motto is "Truth and fair dealing in what you represent your business to be and your goods to be." I have no doubt that in every association like this the prevailing sentiment is that only by the highest standards—I mean the highest moral standards—can you achieve the most permanent and satisfactory business results. Was that the prevalent conception before these associations were drawn together? Have you not found the moral judgment of the average man steady up the whole process and clarify it? Do you not know more after every conference with your fellows than you did before? I never went into a committee of any kind upon any important public matter, or private matter so far as that is concerned, that I did not come out with an altered judgment and knowing much more about the matter than when I went in; and not only knowing much

more, but knowing that the common judgment arrived at was better than I could have suggested when I went in. That is the universal experience of candid men. If it were not so, there would be no object in congresses like this. Yet whenever we attempt legislation, we find ourselves in this case: We are not in the presence of the many who can counsel wisely, but we are in the presence of the few who counsel too narrowly, and the means by which we have been trying to break away from that is not by excluding these gentlemen who constituted the narrow circles of advice, but by associating them with hundreds of thousands of their fellow citizens.

I have heard some say that I was not accessible to them, and when I inquired into it I found they meant that I did not personally invite them. They did not know how to come without being invited, and they did not care to come if they came upon the same terms with everybody else, knowing that everybody else was welcome whom I had the time to confer with.

Am I telling you things unobserved by you? Do you not know that these things are true? And do you not believe with me that the affairs of the Nation can be better conducted upon the basis of general counsel than upon the basis of special counsel? Men are colored and governed by their occupations and their surroundings and their habits. If I wanted to change the law radically, I would not consult a lawyer. If I wanted to change business methods radically, I would not consult a man who had made a conspicuous success by using the present methods that I wanted to change. Not because I would distrust these men, but because I would know that they would not change their thinking over night, that they would have to go through a long process of reacquaintance with the circumstances of the time, the new circumstances of the time, before they could be converted to my point of view. You get a good deal more light on the street than you do in the closet. You get a good deal more light by keeping your ears open

among the rank and file of your fellow citizens than you do in any private conference whatever. I would rather hear what the men are talking about on the trains and in the shops and by the fireside than hear anything else, because I want guidance and I know I could get it there, and what I am constantly asking is that men should bring me that counsel, because I am not privileged to determine things independently of this counsel. I am your servant, not your ruler.

One thing that we are now trying to convert the small circles to that the big circles are already converted to is that this country needs a merchant marine and ought to get one. I have found that I had a great deal more resistance when I tried to help business than when I tried to interfere with it. I have had a great deal more resistance of counsel, of special counsel, when I tried to alter the things that are established than when I tried to do anything else. We call ourselves a liberal nation, whereas, as a matter of fact, we are one of the most conservative nations in the world. If you want to make enemies, try to change something. You know why it is. To do things to-day exactly the way you did them yesterday saves thinking. It does not cost you anything. You have acquired the habit; you know the routine; you do not have to plan anything, and it frightens you with a hint of exertion to learn that you will have to do it a different way to-morrow. Until I became a college teacher, I used to think that the young men were radical, but college boys are the greatest conservatives I ever tackled in my life, largely because they have associated too much with their fathers. What you have to do with them is to take them up upon some visionary height and show them the map of the world as it is. Do not let them see their father's factory. Do not let them see their father's countinghouse. Let them see the great valleys teeming with laborious people. Let them see the great struggle of men in realms they never dreamed of. Let them see the great emotional power

that is in the world, the great ambitions, the great hopes, the great fears. Give them some picture of mankind, and then their father's business and every other man's business will begin to fall into place. They will see that it is an item and not the whole thing; and they will sometimes see that the item is not properly related to the whole, and what they will get interested in will be to relate the item to the whole, so that it will form part of the force, and not part of the impediment.

This country, above every country in the world, is meant to lift; it is meant to add to the forces that improve. It is meant to add to everything that betters the world, that gives it better thinking, more honest endeavor, a closer grapple of man with man, so that we will all be pulling together like one irresistible team in a single harness. That is the reason why it seemed wise to substitute for the harsh processes of the law, which merely lays its hand on your shoulder after you have sinned and threatens you with punishment, some of the milder and more helpful processes of counsel. That is the reason the Federal Trade Commission was established—so that men would have some place where they could take counsel as to what the law was and what the law permitted; and also take counsel as to whether the law itself was right and advice had not better be taken as to its alteration. The processes of counsel are only the processes of accommodation, not the processes of punishment. Punishment retards but it does not lift up. Punishment impedes but it does not improve. And so we ought to substitute for the harsh processes of the law, wherever we can, the milder and gentler and more helpful processes of counsel.

It has been a very great grief to some of us, year after year, year after year, to see a fundamental thing like the fiscal policy of the Government with regard to duties on imports made a football of politics. Why, gentlemen, party politics ought to have nothing to do with the question of what is for the benefit of the business of the

United States, and that is the reason we ought to have a tariff commission, and, I may add, are going to have a tariff commission. But, then, gentlemen, the trouble will be with me. The provision as it stands makes it obligatory upon me not to choose more than half the commission from any one political party. The bill does not undertake to say how many political parties there are. That just now is a delicate question. But I am forbidden to take more than two of the same variety, and yet the trouble about that is I would like to find men for that commission who were of no one of the varieties. I would like to find men who would find out the circumstances of American business, particularly as it changes and is going to change with perplexing rapidity in the years immediately ahead of us, without any regard whatever to the interest of any party whatever, so that we should be able to legislate upon the facts and upon the large economic aspects of those facts without stopping to think which party it was going to hurt and which party it was going to benefit. But almost everybody in this country wears a label of some kind, and under the law I suppose I will have to turn them around and see how they are labeled, how they are branded; and that is going to be a very great blow to my spirit and a very great test of my judgment. I hope, after the results are achieved, you will judge me leniently, because my desire would be not to have a bipartisan but an absolutely nonpartisan commission of men who really applied the tests of scientific analysis of the facts and no other tests whatever to the conclusions that they arrived at.

Did you ever think how absolutely supreme and sovereign facts are? You can make laws all the year through contrary to the facts and the facts will overrun the laws. Do not let a fact catch you napping, because you will get the worst of it if you do, and the object of the tariff commission is that we should see the facts coming first, so that they could not get us. I remember

a cynical politician saying to me once when I was thanking him for having voted the way I hoped he would vote, knowing that that had not been his initial inclination, "Well, Governor, they never get me if I see them coming first." He had heard from home and he saw them coming. Now, I have that attitude toward facts. I never let them get me if I see them first, and it is because I want to see them that I want commissions of this sort and the spirit of this sort that I have tried to describe in the commission as it is constituted.

Because, as I was saying this morning, there is a task ahead of us of most colossal difficulty. We have not been accustomed to the large world of international business, and we have got to get accustomed to it right away. All provincials have got to take a back seat. All men who are afraid of competition have got to take a back seat. All men who depend upon anything except their intelligence and their efficiency have got to take a back seat. It will be interesting to see the sifting process go on. I have some men in mind to nominate for back seats, and I will not draw all of them from the same party. It will not need an act of Congress for that purpose. And some men are going to be surprised at the keenness of the air into which they are thrust out. They are going to be thrust out and we are either going to make conquest, peaceful conquest, of the markets of the world, or we are going to be prevented for evermore of boasting of the business ability of America. I have never been afraid of trusting an American business man out in the air, but some men have. They have said "Give us a wall to crouch behind for fear those fellows should get us." And when it has come to finding out who was crouching behind the wall it was found that all sorts were crouching behind the wall—the capable and the incapable—and that the main object of the wall was to shelter the incapable. As an American I am too proud to submit to anything like that.

I believe that Americans can manufacture goods better than anybody else; that they can sell goods as honestly as anybody else; that they can find out the conditions and meet the conditions of foreign business better than anybody else, and I want to see them given a chance right away, and they will be whether I want them to be or not. We have been trying to get ready for it. The national banks of the United States, until the recent Currency Act, were held back by the very terms of the law under which they operated from some of the most important international transactions. To my mind that is one of the most amazing facts of our commercial history. The Congress of the United States was not willing that the national banks should have a latchkey and go away from home. They were afraid they would not know how to get back under cover, and banks from other countries had to establish branches where American bankers were doing business, to take care of some of the most important processes of international exchange. That is nothing less than amazing, but it is not necessary any longer. It never was necessary; it was only thought to be necessary by some eminently provincial statesmen. We are done with provincialism in the statesmanship of the United States, and we have got to have a view now and a horizon as wide as the world itself. And when I look around upon an alert company like this, it seems to me in my imagination they are almost straining at the leash. They are waiting to be let loose upon this great race that is now going to challenge our abilities. For my part, I shall look forward to the result with absolute and serene confidence, because the spirit of the United States is an international spirit, if we conceive it right. This is not the home of any particular race of men. This is not the home of any particular set of political traditions. This is a home the doors of which have been opened from the first to mankind, to everybody who loved liberty, to everybody whose ideal was equal-

ity of opportunity, to everybody whose heart was moved by the fundamental instincts and sympathies of humanity. That is America, and now it is as if the nations of the world, sampled and united here, were in their new union and new common understanding turning about to serve the world with all the honest processes of business and of enterprise. I am happy that I should be witnessing the dawn of the day when America is indeed to come into her own.

THE NATION LOVES PEACE

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT TOLEDO, OHIO, JULY 10, 1916. FROM "CONGRESSIONAL RECORD" VOL. 53, APPENDIX, PP. 1486-87.

THIS is an entire surprise party to me. I did not know I was going to have the pleasure of stopping long enough to address any number of you, but I am very glad indeed to give you my very cordial greetings and to express my very great interest in this interesting city.

General Sherwood said that there were many things we agreed about, but there is one thing we disagree about. General Sherwood has been opposing preparedness, and I have been advocating it, and I am very sorry to have found him on the other side.[1] Because, I think, you will bear me witness, fellow citizens, that in advocating preparedness I have not been advocating hostility. You will bear me witness that I have been a persistent friend of peace and that nothing but unmistakable necessity will drive me from that position. I think it is a matter of sincere congratulation to us that our neighbor Republic to the south shows evidences of at last believing in our friendly intentions; that while we must protect our border and see to it that our sovereignty is not impugned, we are ready to respect their sovereignty also, and to be their friends, and not their enemies.

The real uses of intelligence, my fellow citizens, are the uses of peace. Any body of men can get up a row, but only an intelligent body of men can get together and coöperate. Peace is not only a test of a nation's patience; it is also a test of whether the nation knows how to conduct its relations or not. It takes time to do

[1] This sentence omitted in *Congressional Record,* but appears in New York *Times.*

intelligent things, and it does not take any time to do unintelligent things. I can lose my temper in a minute, but it takes me a long time to keep it, and I think that if you were to subject my Scotch-Irish blood to the proper kind of analysis, you would find that it was fighting blood, and that it is pretty hard for a man born that way to keep quiet and do things in the way in which his intelligence tells him he ought to do them. I know just as well as that I am standing here that I represent and am the servant of a Nation that loves peace, and that loves it upon the proper basis; loves it not because it is afraid of anybody; loves it not because it does not understand and mean to maintain its rights, but because it knows that humanity is something in which we are all linked together, and that it behooves the United States, just as long as it is possible, to hold off from becoming involved in a strife which makes it all the more necessary that some part of the world should keep cool while all the rest of it is hot. Here in America, for the time being, are the spaces, the cool spaces, of thoughtfulness, and so long as we are allowed to do so, we will serve and not contend with the rest of our fellow men. We are the more inclined to do this because the very principles upon which our Government is based are principles of common counsel and not of contest.

So, my fellow citizens, I congratulate myself upon this opportunity, brief as it is, to give you my greetings and to convey to you my congratulations that the signs that surround us are all signs of peace.

SUFFERINGS OF POLAND

REMARKS TO POLISH CITIZENS, WASHINGTON, JULY 12, 1916. FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FILES.

THIS is a matter which has engaged my thought constantly, I might say without exaggeration, and I do not think that there is any matter to which the State Department has devoted a more constant and repeated effort than that of trying to get relief into Poland. I know the terrible conditions, the tragical conditions, that exist there, and nobody could know them without feeling his heart torn with the knowledge. Just the other day we issued a special appeal to the governments concerned to make concessions and allow this humane thing to be done. Now I am simply up against a stone wall in the matter. If they do not yield, obviously there is nothing I can do. I cannot force food in there without complicating the situation, and without, I conjecture, doing greater disservice to Poland than service. Her only friends are apparently at a disadvantage. But I can assure you that every kind of pressure that can be brought will be brought, and is being brought, in the accomplishment of this object. I desire, as well as those associated with me desire, to help her, and as a reminder it was most unnecessary that you should come. I mean I was not forgetful of Poland, and was not likely to be forgetful of her, but that makes your visit none the less impressive and none the less welcome, and you may be sure I will continue to do everything that is possible.

LOYALTY MEANS SELF-SACRIFICE

ADDRESS ON CITIZENSHIP DELIVERED AT WASHINGTON BEFORE THE CONFERENCE ON AMERICANIZATION, JULY 13, 1916. FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FILES.

I HAVE come here for the simple purpose of expressing my very deep interest in what these conferences are intended to attain. It is not fair to the great multitudes of hopeful men and woman who press into this country from other countries that we should leave them without that friendly and intimate instruction which will enable them very soon after they come to find out what America is like at heart and what America is intended for among the nations of the world.

I believe that the chief school that these people must attend after they get here is the school which all of us attend, which is furnished by the life of the communities in which we live and the Nation to which we belong. It has been a very touching thought to me sometimes to think of the hopes which have drawn these people to America. I have no doubt that many a simple soul has been thrilled by that great statue standing in the harbor of New York and seeming to lift the light of liberty for the guidance of the feet of men; and I can imagine that they have expected here something ideal in the treatment that they will receive, something ideal in the laws which they would have to live under, and it has caused me many a time to turn upon myself the eye of examination to see whether there burned in me the true light of the American spirit which they expected to find here. It is easy, my fellow citizens, to communicate physical lessons, but it is very difficult to communicate spiritual lessons. America was intended to be a spirit among the nations of the world, and it is

the purpose of conferences like this to find out the best way to introduce the newcomers to this spirit, and by that very interest in them to enhance and purify in ourselves the thing that ought to make America great and not only ought to make her great, but ought to make her exhibit a spirit unlike any other nation in the world.

I have never been among those who felt comfortable in boasting of the superiority of America over other countries. The way to cure yourself of that is to travel in other countries and find out how much of nobility and character and fine enterprise there is everywhere in the world. The most that America can hope to do is to show, it may be, the finest example, not the only example, of the things that ought to benefit and promote the progress of the world.

So my interest in this movement is as much an interest in ourselves as in those whom we are trying to Americanize, because if we are genuine Americans they cannot avoid the infection; whereas, if we are not genuine Americans, there will be nothing to infect them with, and no amount of teaching, no amount of exposition of the Constitution—which I find very few persons understand—no amount of dwelling upon the idea of liberty and of justice will accomplish the object we have in view, unless we ourselves illustrate the idea of justice and of liberty. My interest in this movement is, therefore, a two-fold interest. I believe it will assist us to become self-conscious in respect of the fundamental ideas of American life.

When you ask a man to be loyal to a government, if he comes from some foreign countries, his idea is that he is expected to be loyal to a certain set of persons like a ruler or a body set in authority over him, but that is not the American idea. Our idea is that he is to be loyal to certain objects in life, and that the only reason he has a President and a Congress and a Governor and a State Legislature and courts is that the community shall have instrumentalities by which to promote those

objects. It is a coöperative organization expressing itself in this Constitution, expressing itself in these laws, intending to express itself in the exposition of those laws by the courts; and the idea of America is not so much that men are to be restrained and punished by the law as instructed and guided by the law. That is the reason so many hopeful reforms come to grief. A law cannot work until it expresses the spirit of the community for which it is enacted, and if you try to enact into law what expresses only the spirit of a small coterie or of a small minority, you know, or at any rate you ought to know, beforehand that it is not going to work.

The object of the law is that there, written upon these pages, the citizen should read the record of the experience of this state and Nation; what they have concluded it is necessary for them to do because of the life they have lived and the things that they have discovered to be elements in that life.

So that we ought to be careful to maintain a government at which the immigrant can look with the closest scrutiny and to which he should be at liberty to address this question: "You declare this to be a land of liberty and of equality and of justice; have you made it so by your law?" We ought to be able in our schools, in our night schools and in every other method of instructing these people, to show them that that has been our endeavor. We cannot conceal from them long the fact that we are just as human as any other nation, that we are just as selfish, that there are just as many mean people amongst us as anywhere else, that there are just as many people here who want to take advantage of other people as you can find in other countries, just as many cruel people, just as many people heartless when it comes to maintaining and promoting their own interest; but you can show that our object is to get these people in harness and see to it that they do not do any damage and are not allowed to indulge the passions

which would bring injustice and calamity at last upon a Nation whose object is spiritual and not material.

America has built up a great body of wealth. America has become, from the physical point of view, one of the most powerful nations in the world, a nation which if it took the pains to do so, could build that power up into one of the most formidable instruments in the world, one of the most formidable instruments of force, but which has no other idea than to use its force for ideal objects and not for self-aggrandizement.

We have been disturbed recently, my fellow citizens, by certain symptoms which have showed themselves in our body politic. Certain men—I have never believed a great number—born in other lands, have in recent months thought more of those lands than they have of the honor and interest of the government under which they are now living. They have even gone so far as to draw apart in spirit and in organization from the rest of us to accomplish some special object of their own. I am not here going to utter any criticism of these people, but I want to say this, that such a thing as that is absolutely incompatible with the fundamental idea of loyalty, and that loyalty is not a self-pleasing virtue. I am not bound to be loyal to the United States to please myself. I am bound to be loyal to the United States because I live under its laws and am its citizen, and whether it hurts me or whether it benefits me, I am obliged to be loyal. Loyalty means nothing unless it has at its heart the absolute principle of self-sacrifice. Loyalty means that you ought to be ready to sacrifice every interest that you have, and your life itself, if your country calls upon you to do so, and that is the sort of loyalty which ought to be inculcated into these newcomers, that they are not to be loyal only so long as they are pleased, but that, having once entered into this sacred relationship, they are bound to be loyal whether they are pleased or not; and that loyalty which is merely self-pleasing is only self-indulgence and selfish-

ness. No man has ever risen to the real stature of spiritual manhood until he has found that it is finer to serve somebody else than it is to serve himself.

These are the conceptions which we ought to teach the newcomers into our midst, and we ought to realize that the life of every one of us is part of the schooling, and that we cannot preach loyalty unless we set the example, that we cannot profess things with any influence upon others unless we practice them also. This process of Americanization is going to be a process of self-examination, a process of purification, a process of rededication to the things which America represents and is proud to represent. And it takes a great deal more courage and steadfastness, my fellow citizens, to represent ideal things than to represent anything else.

It is easy to lose your temper, and hard to keep it. It is easy to strike and sometimes very difficult to refrain from striking and I think you will agree with me that we are most justified in being proud of doing the things that are hard to do and not the things that are easy. You do not settle things quickly by taking what seems to be the quickest way to settle them. You may make the complication just that much the more profound and inextricable, and, therefore, what I believe America should exalt above everything else is the sovereignty of thoughtfulness and sympathy and vision as against the grosser impulses of mankind. No nation can live without vision, and no vision will exalt a nation except the vision of real liberty and real justice and purity of conduct.

THE MEANING OF PARTY

ADDRESS AT THE POSTMASTERS' BANQUET, THE HOTEL RALEIGH, WASHINGTON, JULY 20, 1916. FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FILES.

I AM very much interested to see the sort of crowd the Postmaster General has got me into, and as I look about upon you, gentlemen, many of the impressions of the last three years come back upon me, because those have been three years when we have been trying to do very serious things indeed. The thing that I have been most interested in, perhaps, has been organizing this government for the service of the country. Most of you, I am told all of you, bear commissions from the present administration. That sets me at liberty to say some things which I might not otherwise have felt free to say. If you are all Democrats, there is something I want to say to you as Democrats. There is only one way of holding the confidence of the American public, and that is by deserving it, and I know by my intercourse with the Postmaster General that the single object he has had in view has been to make the Post Office of the United States more serviceable and more variously serviceable to the people of the United States than it has ever been before. I know from him that he has had your hearty and loyal co-operation in that effort, and I esteem you good Democrats in proportion as you sustain him in that thing.

I tell you frankly, gentlemen, I have no interest in a political party except as an instrument of achievement. I cannot imagine how a man can be interested in a party that has not aspirations and purposes and a programme which it carried out. Like a great many of the rest of you, I inherited my Democracy, but it would not stay in my blood long if the red corpuscles of that blood did

not have something to do; and if the Democratic party will bend all its efforts and all its intelligence to understanding the United States and, by understanding, serving it, it will be continued in power so long as it practices that devotion.

The Democratic party is coherent. Some other parties are not. There is only one thing in this world, gentlemen, that binds men together. That is unselfishness. Selfishness separates them. Selfishness divides them into camps. Selfishness raises up men who have personal ends to serve. Selfishness leads to little coteries that have particular purposes to carry out and particular interests to advance. There is no great cohesive power except that of love and devotion. Now, as I have looked about upon you and read these quotations on one of the first pages of this programme of the evening,—quotations taken from the inscriptions on the Post Office here in Washington,—I have wondered if you have pondered the significance of these lines: that you are messengers of sympathy and hope, the servants of parted friends, the consolers of the lonely; that you furnish the bond of the scattered family and the means which enlarge the common life; that you are the carrier of news and knowledge, the instrument of trade and industry, the promoter of mutual acquaintance, of peace and good will among men and nations. And have you reflected that the United States is one of the few great countries in the world in which men are free to do this thing now, in which hostility does not draw lines of separation which cannot be crossed, and that nowhere else in any great nation of the world upon so great a scale are the processes of peace free to move as they are in America; that you are the instruments of the peace which comes from a mutual understanding, from a common object, from that weaving of minds together which can come only by free intercourse; and that in every community in this country the Post Office is the conspicuous gauge and standard of what the government is

doing for the people and how it is doing it, that the administration will be judged by you, the whole machinery of government will be judged by you, the whole spirit of public service judged by you? Men judge very concretely. They do not think of things in the abstract. If they are thinking of a great organization like a government, they think of the man nearest them that they know belongs to the organization of that government, and he is their standard by which they judge whether that government is doing its work well and doing it in the public interest or not.

So that you, gentlemen, are the custodians of the honor and the distinction, not only of the great party which you represent, but of the great government which you serve. You are good Democrats only in proportion as you love that government more than you love yourselves. And that government is greater than any party, greater than any man's interest. Parties rise and fall, but that great government lives immortal. The only way parties can take immortality from it is by being true to its ideals and standards and loving the principles which it represents better even than they love the temporary success of the party itself.

It is true, therefore, gentlemen, that a great deal of the vitality of affairs is represented in this little company in this room to-night; a little company as compared with the great body of those who serve the government. Of course, it is common knowledge to you that eighty-seven per cent. of the classified service of the government is connected with the Post Office. There is more, speaking by way of its extent and its variety, of the service of the government embodied in the Post Office Department than in any other department of the government. The Navy sees that nobody interferes with us, there are special subjects assigned to special departments, but the general intermediary, the general instrumentality, the general eye and ear and servant of the government is the Post Office De-

partment. I have sometimes wished that as I signed your commissions I could sit down with you and individually talk over with you the ideals of the service.

Did you ever reflect, gentlemen, upon how careful we are in using one of the most beautiful adjectives in our language? We readily call men "great," because there are many things great that are not lovable, that are not admirable,—great in force, great in astuteness, great in power. We are very free with the use of the word "great," but there is one word which we hoard and reserve, and that is the word "noble." We never apply it to a man who thinks first of himself, but always to a man who has some margin of energy outside the little circle of his own self-interest to spend for the benefit of his fellow-men. That ought to be the spirit of government, of government service. It ought to be touched with this rare spirit of self-forgetfulness, which is the spirit of nobility. We do not give men titles of nobility in this country, but men can win nobility by winning the love and confidence and admiration of their fellow-men. And every man who covets office ought to covet it, not for its own sake, but that he may find some sphere in which he may prove that there is something that he loves better than himself. Why for any other reason a man should seek the responsibilities of office, I cannot imagine, for those responsibilities search the very heart. They not only put a burden upon the mind, but they are a constant challenge to the conscience. And how any man can sleep o' nights whose conscience is not clear with regard to the purposes for which he is using public office, I cannot see.

The simple thing I have come to say to you to-night, gentlemen, is this: Let us band ourselves together to prove to the people of the United States that we understand what they want and are readier to do it than anybody else that they can find.

TAKE THE TARIFF OUT OF POLITICS

LETTER TO SAMUEL M. HASTINGS,[1] CHICAGO, JULY 28, 1916. FROM THE "CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 64TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION, VOL. 53, PP. 14361-14362.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
WASHINGTON, *July 28, 1916.*

MY DEAR MR. HASTINGS: It was with real interest and appreciation that I received your suggestion for the appointment of a commission to

[1] ILLINOIS MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION,
CHICAGO, *July 31, 1916.*

TO THE PRESIDENT:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 26, and in reply wish to express to you my appreciation as well as the appreciation of my colleagues for the very cordial reception you have given our suggestions.

The very important services which we propose no doubt could be done by the tariff commission as you indicate, but we feel that it would be much better to have a special commission, the idea of which should be to carry our feelings of friendship and good will to other nations. The members of the tariff commission would be received as commercial emissaries, while it was our thought that the commercial feature should be secondary.

We feel our country should cultivate a friendly spirit with other nations, and the commission we suggest should precede any commercial effort made on the part of business houses of our country.

We were impressed with your Detroit speech and gathered our suggestions largely from this source. There is no desire to interfere with the diplomatic officials or encroach upon the duties of any other department. If a commission made up of representative industrial and financial men could sit down with similar representatives from other Governments and talk matters over, our people feel confident that great good would result, as it would help to eliminate misunderstandings and place us on a more friendly footing. The message our commission would carry to the foreign Governments and trade associations could not help but bear fruit beneficial to ourselves and the countries visited.

Very truly, yours,
SAMUEL M. HASTINGS, *President.*

visit the belligerent nations for the purpose of studying the means whereby closer economic relations might be brought about between the United States and Europe. The general idea underlying your suggestion had for a long time been much in my thoughts. Whether this is the opportune moment to act upon it, however, is open to serious question.

Let me say that when the circumstances justify it I shall take advantage of that provision of the Rainey bill under which the President is authorized to direct an examination or investigation by the tariff commission of trade relations between the United States and foreign countries, including the conditions, causes, and effects of the competition of foreign industries with those of the United States.

After all, what we are interested in is to ascertain all the facts surrounding our economic life and to disconnect a fundamental thing like the fiscal policy of the Government with regard to duties on imports from party politics. We shall strive to do this through the instrumentality of a permanent, non-partisan commission composed of able and experienced men, so that when the facts are once obtained the handling of our tariff question may no longer be made the football of politics. It ought to be possible by such means to make the question of duties merely a question of progress and development, a question of adapting means to ends, of facilitating and helping business and employing to the utmost the resources of the country in a vast development of our business and enterprise.

Through the Federal Trade Commission, which substitutes the milder processes of helpful counsel for the harsh process of the law, we already have for the first time a compilation of the trust laws of the world, together with a complete analysis of the manner in which foreign Governments encourage their business enterprises and associations. A committee of the House of Representatives now has under discussion a bill to per-

mit co-operation among American manufacturers and business men exclusively for export trade, so that American enterprise may be able to meet more successfully the organized competition with which they are face to face in international markets. In addition to the information gathered and systematized by the Federal Trade Commission bearing upon foreign and domestic commerce, our consular representatives and commercial attachés abroad have kept us well supplied with information relative to the changing business conditions and the new financial processes which are proceeding with unusual rapidity; but it will be the privilege and function of the tariff commission to obtain and collate in an even more systematic way the information which is desired as a basis for our future action.

We have not been accustomed to the large world of international business, but it is evident that we must get acquainted with it immediately. American enterprise is already establishing new industries. Some of these, like the dyestuffs industry, for example, are old and well established in Europe, and have been for generations. The study of such industries, their wages, and their general organization, with reference to economy and efficiency of operation, can not fail to be helpful to the business men of the United States and to the people in general.

May I not add an expression of my sincere appreciation of the evidence you and your colleagues have given of a willingness to co-operate in all such enterprises?

Sincerely, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

MR. SAMUEL M. HASTINGS,
The Illinois Manufacturers' Association,
Chicago.

HELPING THE FARMER

LETTER TO HON. A. F. LEVER, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON. FROM THE "CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 64TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION, APPENDIX, PP. 1762-1763.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
WASHINGTON, *August 11, 1916.*

MY DEAR MR. LEVER: It has given me much satisfaction to approve to-day the bill making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes, because the bill not only makes very generous provision for the improvement of farm production in the Nation and for investigations and demonstrations in the field of marketing of farm crops and of the organization of rural life, but also contains three well-conceived measures designed to improve market practices and the storage and financing of staple crops. As the passage of this bill marks the practical completion of an important part of the program for the betterment of rural life which was mapped out at the beginning of the administration, I feel that I cannot let the occasion pass without conveying to you and your associates in both Houses my appreciation of the service rendered to the Nation in strengthening its great agricultural foundations.

The record, legislative as well as administrative, is a remarkable one. It speaks for itself and needs only to be set forth.

1. Appreciation of the importance of agriculture has been shown through greatly and intelligently increased appropriations for its support.

2. Particular pains have been taken to foster production by every promising means, and careful thought has been given especially to the matter of increasing the meat supply of the Nation.

3. Greatly increased provision has been made, through the enactment of the co-operative agricultural extension act, for conveying agricultural information to farmers, and for inducing them to apply it. This piece of legislation is one of the most significant and far-reaching measures for the education of adults ever adopted by any Government. It provides for co-operation between the States and the Federal Government. This is a highly important and significant principle. When the act is in full operation there will be expended annually under its terms, from Federal and State sources alone, a total of over $8,600,000 in the direct education of the farmer; and this amount is being and will be increasingly supplemented by contributions from local sources. It will permit the placing in each of the 2,850 rural counties of the Nation two farm demonstrators and specialists, who will assist the demonstrators in the more difficult problems confronting them.

4. Systematic provision for the first time has been made for the solution of problems in that important half of agriculture which concerns distribution marketing, rural finance, and rural organization.

5. Provision was made promptly for the creation of an Office of Markets and Rural Organization, and the appropriations for this office, including those for enforcing new laws designed to promote better marketing, have been increased to $1,200,000. The more difficult problems of marketing are being investigated and plans are in operation for furnishing assistance to producers of perishables through a market news service. A similar service for the live-stock interest will be inaugurated during the year.

6. The problem of securing the uniform grading of staple crops, of regulating dealings and traffic in them,

of developing a better system of warehouses, and of providing more available collateral for farm loans has been successfully dealt with.

7. Under the cotton-futures act standards for cotton have been established, the operations of the future exchanges have been put under supervision, and the sale of cotton has been placed on a firmer basis.

8. The United States grain-standards act will secure uniformity in the grading of grain, enable the farmer to obtain fairer prices for his product, and afford him an incentive to raise better grades of grain.

9. The United States warehouse act will enable the Department of Agriculture to license bonded warehouses in the various States. It will lead to the development of better storage facilities for staple crops and will make possible the issuance of reliable warehouse receipts which will be widely and easily negotiable.

10. Of no less importance for agriculture and for national development is the Federal Aid road act. This measure will conduce to the establishment of more effective highway machinery in each State, strongly influence the development of good road building along right lines, stimulate larger production and better marketing, promote a fuller and more attractive rural life, add greatly to the convenience and economic welfare of all the people, and strengthen the national foundations. The act embodies sound principles of road legislation and will safeguard the expenditure of the funds arising under the act not only, but will also result in the more efficient use of the large additional sums made available by States and localities.

11. The Federal Reserve act benefits the farmer, as it does all the other people of the Nation, by guaranteeing better banking, safeguarding the credit structure of the country, and preventing panics. It takes particular note of the special needs of the farmer by making larger provision for loans through national banks on farm

mortgages and by giving farm paper a maturity period of six months.

12. It was essential, however, that banking machinery be devised which would reach intimately into the rural districts, that it should operate on terms suited to the farmer's needs, and should be under sympathetic management. The need was for machinery which would introduce business methods into farm finance, bring order out of chaos, reduce the cost of handling farm loans, place upon the market mortgages which would be a safe investment for private funds, attract into agricultural operations a fair share of the capital of the Nation, and lead to a reduction of interest. These needs and these ideals have been met by the enactment of the Federal farm-loan act.

I am glad to have had an opportunity to take part in the execution of this large program, which, I believe, will result in making agriculture more profitable and country life more comfortable and attractive, and therefore insure the retention in rural districts of an efficient and contented population.

Faithfully, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY

TELEGRAM ASKING CONFERENCE WITH RAILWAY PRESIDENTS.[1] FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FILES.

WHITE HOUSE, *August 16, 1916.*

DISCUSSION of the matters involved in the threatened railway strike has reached a point which makes it highly desirable that I should personally confer with you at the earliest possible moment and with the Presidents of any other of the railways affected who may be immediately accessible. Hope you can make it convenient to come to Washington at once.

WOODROW WILSON.

Public Statement

I have recommended the concession of the eight-hour day,—that is, the substitution of an eight-hour day for

[1] The above telegram was sent to each of the following:
President Daniel Willard, General Offices, B. & O., Baltimore Md.
President Samuel Rea, Broad Street Station, Philadelphia, Pa.
President A. H. Smith, Grand Central Terminal, New York City.
President F. D. Underwood, 50 Church Street, New York City.
President Wm. H. Truesdale, 90 West Street, New York City.
President Howard Elliott, N. Y., N. H., & H. R. R., Co., New Haven, Conn.
President Hale Holden, Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R., New York City.
President W. J. Harahan, Seaboard Air Line Railroad, Norfolk, Va.
President L. F. Loree, Delaware & Hudson R. R., New York City.
President Mr. B. F. Bush, Receiver, Missouri Pacific R. R., 120 Broadway, New York City.
President E. E. Calvin, Union Pacific Railroad, New York City.
President Wm. Sproule, Southern Pacific Railroad, New York City.
President George W. Stevens, Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad, Richmond, Va.
President Samuel M. Felton, Chicago & Great Western R. R. Co., Chicago, Ill.
President Fairfax Harrison, Southern Railway Co., Washington, D. C.

the present ten-hour day in all the existing practices and agreements. I made this recommendation because I believe the concession right. The eight-hour day now undoubtedly has the sanction of the judgment of society in its favor and should be adopted as a basis for wages even where the actual work to be done cannot be completed within eight hours.

Concerning the adjustments which should be made in justice to the railroads and their stockholders in the payments and privileges to which their men are now entitled (if such adjustments are necessary), there is a wide divergence of opinion. The railroads which have already adopted the eight-hour day do not seem to be at any serious disadvantage in respect to their cost of operation as compared with the railroads that have retained the ten-hour day, and calculations as to the cost of the change must, if made now, be made without regard to any possible administrative economies or readjustments. Only experience can make it certain what re-arrangements would be fair and equitable either on behalf of the men or on behalf of the railroads. That experience would be a definite guide to the Interstate Commerce Commission, for example, in determining whether, as a consequence of the change, it would be necessary and right to authorize an increase of rates for the handling and carriage of freight (for the passenger service is not affected).

I, therefore, proposed that the demand for extra pay for overtime made by the men and the contingent proposals of the railroad authorities be postponed until facts shall have taken the place of calculation and forecast with regard to the effects of a change to the eight-hour day; that, in the meantime, while experience was developing the facts, I should seek and, if need be, obtain authority from the Congress to appoint a small body of impartial men to observe and thoroughly acquaint themselves with the results with a view to reporting to Congress at the earliest possible time the

facts disclosed by their inquiries, but without recommendation of any kind; and that it should then be entirely open to either or both parties to the present controversy to give notice of a termination of the present agreements with a view to instituting inquiries into suggested readjustments of pay or practice.

This seems to me a thoroughly practical and entirely fair program, and I think that the public has the right to expect its acceptance.

THE THREATENED RAILROAD STRIKE AND THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY

SPECIAL ADDRESS BEFORE CONGRESS, AUGUST 29, 1916. FROM THE "CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 64TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION, VOL. 53, PP. 13335-13336.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I have come to you to seek your assistance in dealing with a very grave situation which has arisen out of the demand of the employees of the railroads engaged in freight train service that they be granted an eight-hour working day, safeguarded by payment for an hour and a half of service for every hour of work beyond the eight.

The matter has been agitated for more than a year. The public has been made familiar with the demands of the men and the arguments urged in favor of them, and even more familiar with the objections of the railroads and their counter demand that certain privileges now enjoyed by their men and certain bases of payment worked out through many years of contest be reconsidered, especially in their relation to the adoption of an eight-hour day. The matter came some three weeks ago to a final issue and resulted in a complete deadlock between the parties. The means provided by law for the mediation of the controversy failed and the means of arbitration for which the law provides were rejected. The representatives of the railway executives proposed that the demands of the men be submitted in their entirety to arbitration, along with certain questions of readjustment as to pay and conditions of employment which seemed to them to be either closely associated with the demands or to call for reconsideration on their own merits; the men absolutely declined arbitration, es-

pecially if any of their established privileges were by that means to be drawn again in question. The law in the matter put no compulsion upon them. The four hundred thousand men from whom the demands proceeded had voted to strike if their demands were refused; the strike was imminent; it has since been set for the fourth of September next. It affects the men who man the freight trains on practically every railway in the country. The freight service throughout the United States must stand still until their places are filled, if, indeed, it should prove possible to fill them at all. Cities will be cut off from their food supplies, the whole commerce of the Nation will be paralyzed, men of every sort and occupation will be thrown out of employment, countless thousands will in all likelihood be brought, it may be, to the very point of starvation, and a tragical national calamity brought on, to be added to the other distresses of the time, because no basis of accommodation or settlement has been found.

Just so soon as it became evident that mediation under the existing law had failed and that arbitration had been rendered impossible by the attitude of the men, I considered it my duty to confer with the representatives of both the railways and the brotherhoods, and myself offer mediation, not as an arbitrator, but merely as spokesman of the nation, in the interest of justice, indeed, and as a friend of both parties, but not as judge, only as the representative of one hundred millions of men, women, and children who would pay the price, the incalculable price, of loss and suffering should these few men insist upon approaching and concluding the matters in controversy between them merely as employers and employees, rather than as patriotic citizens of the United States looking before and after and accepting the larger responsibility which the public would put upon them.

It seemed to me, in considering the subject-matter of the controversy, that the whole spirit of the time and

the preponderant evidence of recent economic experience spoke for the eight-hour day. It has been adjudged by the thought and experience of recent years a thing upon which society is justified in insisting as in the interest of health, efficiency, contentment, and a general increase of economic vigor. The whole presumption of modern experience would, it seemed to me, be in its favor, whether there was arbitration or not, and the debatable points to settle were those which arose out of the acceptance of the eight-hour day rather than those which affected its establishment. I, therefore, proposed that the eight-hour day be adopted by the railway managements and put into practice for the present as a substitute for the existing ten-hour basis of pay and service; that I should appoint, with the permission of the Congress, a small commission to observe the results of the change, carefully studying the figures of the altered operating costs, not only, but also the conditions of labor under which the men worked and the operation of their existing agreements with the railroads, with instructions to report the facts as they found them to the Congress at the earliest possible day, but without recommendation; and that, after the facts had been thus disclosed, and adjustment should in some orderly manner be sought of all the matters now left unadjusted between the railroad managers and the men.

These proposals were exactly in line, it is interesting to note, with the position taken by the Supreme Court of the United States when appealed to to protect certain litigants from the financial losses which they confidently expected if they should submit to the regulation of their charges and of their methods of service by public legislation. The Court has held that it would not undertake to form a judgment upon forecasts, but could base its action only upon actual experience; that it must be supplied with facts, not with calculations and opinions, however scientifically attempted. To undertake to arbitrate the question of the adoption of an eight-hour day

in the light of results merely estimated and predicted would be to undertake an enterprise of conjecture. No wise man could undertake it, or, if he did undertake it, could feel assured of his conclusions.

I unhesitatingly offered the friendly services of the administration to the railway managers to see to it that justice was done the railroads in the outcome. I felt warranted in assuring them that no obstacle of law would be suffered to stand in the way of their increasing their revenues to meet the expenses resulting from the change so far as the development of their business and of their administrative efficiency did not prove adequate to meet them. The public and the representatives of the public, I felt justified in assuring them, were disposed to nothing but justice in such cases and were willing to serve those who served them.

The representatives of the brotherhoods accepted the plan; but the representatives of the railroads declined to accept it. In the face of what I cannot but regard as the practical certainty that they will be ultimately obliged to accept the eight-hour day by the concerted action of organized labor, backed by the favorable judgment of society, the representatives of the railway management have felt justified in declining a peaceful settlement which would engage all the forces of justice, public and private, on their side to take care of the event. They fear the hostile influence of shippers, who would be opposed to an increase of freight rates (for which, however, of course, the public itself would pay); they apparently feel no confidence that the Interstate Commerce Commission could withstand the objections that would be made. They do not care to rely upon the friendly assurances of the Congress or the President. They have thought it best that they should be forced to yield, if they must yield, not by counsel, but by the suffering of the country. While my conferences with them were in progress, and when to all outward appearance those conferences had come to a standstill, the repre-

sentatives of the brotherhoods suddenly acted and set the strike for the fourth of September.

The railway managers based their decision to reject my counsel in this matter upon their conviction that they must at any cost to themselves or to the country stand firm for the principle of arbitration which the men had rejected. I based my counsel upon the indisputable fact that there was no means of obtaining arbitration. The law supplied none; earnest efforts at mediation had failed to influence the men in the least. To stand firm for the principle of arbitration and yet not get arbitration seemed to me futile, and something more than futile, because it involved incalculable distress to the country and consequences in some respects worse than those of war, and that in the midst of peace.

I yield to no man in firm adherence, alike of conviction and of purpose, to the principle of arbitration in industrial disputes; but matters have come to a sudden crisis in this particular dispute and the country had been caught unprovided with any practicable means of enforcing that conviction in practice (by whose fault we will not now stop to inquire). A situation had to be met whose elements and fixed conditions were indisputable. The practical and patriotic course to pursue, as it seemed to me, was to secure immediate peace by conceding the one thing in the demands of the men which society itself and any arbitrators who represented public sentiment were most likely to approve, and immediately lay the foundations for securing arbitration with regard to everything else involved. The event has confirmed that judgment.

I was seeking to compose the present in order to safeguard the future; for I wished an atmosphere of peace and friendly co-operation in which to take counsel with the representatives of the Nation with regard to the best means for providing, so far as it might prove possible to provide, against the recurrence of such unhappy situations in the future—the best and most practicable

means of securing calm and fair arbitration of all industrial disputes in the days to come. This is assuredly the best way of vindicating a principle, namely, having failed to make certain of its observance in the present, to make certain of its observance in the future.

But I could only propose. I could not govern the will of others who took an entirely different view of the circumstances of the case, who even refused to admit the circumstances to be what they have turned out to be.

Having failed to bring the parties to this critical controversy to an accommodation, therefore, I turn to you, deeming it clearly our duty as public servants to leave nothing undone that we can do to safeguard the life and interests of the nation. In the spirit of such a purpose, I earnestly recommend the following legislation:

First, immediate provision for the enlargement and administrative reorganization of the Interstate Commerce Commission along the lines embodied in the bill recently passed by the House of Representatives and now awaiting action by the Senate; in order that the Commission may be enabled to deal with the many great and various duties now devolving upon it with a promptness and thoroughness which are with its present constitution and means of action practically impossible.

Second, the establishment of an eight-hour day as the legal basis alike of work and of wages in the employment of all railway employees who are actually engaged in the work of operating trains in interstate transportation.

Third, the authorization of the appointment by the President of a small body of men to observe the actual results in experience of the adoption of the eight-hour day in railway transportation alike for the men and for the railroads; its effects in the matter of operating costs, in the application of the existing practices and agreements to the new conditions, and in all other practical aspects, with the provision that the investigators shall report their conclusions to the Congress at the earliest

possible date, but without recommendation as to legislative action; in order that the public may learn from an unprejudiced source just what actual developments have ensued.

Fourth, explicit approval by the Congress of the consideration by the Interstate Commerce Commission of an increase of freight rates to meet such additional expenditures by the railroads as may have been rendered necessary by the adoption of the eight-hour day and which have not been offset by administrative readjustments and economies, should the facts disclosed justify the increase.

Fifth, an amendment of the existing federal statute which provides for the mediation, conciliation, and arbitration of such controversies as the present by adding to it a provision that in case the methods of accommodation now provided for should fail, a full public investigation of the merits of every such dispute shall be instituted and completed before a strike or lockout may lawfully be attempted.

And, sixth, the lodgement in the hands of the Executive of the power, in case of military necessity, to take control of such portions and such rolling stock of the railways of the country as may be required for military use and to operate them for military purposes, with authority to draft into the military service of the United States such train crews and administrative officials as the circumstances require for their safe and efficient use.

This last suggestion I make because we cannot in any circumstances suffer the nation to be hampered in the essential matter of national defense. At the present moment circumstances render this duty particularly obvious. Almost the entire military force of the Nation is stationed upon the Mexican border to guard our territory against hostile raids. It must be supplied, and steadily supplied, with whatever it needs for its maintenance and efficiency. If it should be necessary

for purposes of national defense to transfer any portion of it upon short notice to some other part of the country, for reasons now unforeseen, ample means of transportation must be available, and available without delay. The power conferred in this matter should be carefully and explicitly limited to cases of military necessity, but in all such cases it should be clear and ample.

There is one other thing we should do if we are true champions of arbitration. We should make all arbitral awards judgments by record of a court of law in order that their interpretation and enforcement may lie, not with one of the parties to the arbitration, but with an impartial and authoritative tribunal.

These things I urge upon you, not in haste or merely as a means of meeting a present emergency, but as permanent and necessary additions to the law of the land, suggested, indeed, by circumstances we had hoped never to see, but imperative as well as just, if such emergencies are to be prevented in the future. I feel that no extended argument is needed to commend them to your favorable consideration. They demonstrate themselves. The time and the occasion only give emphasis to their importance. We need them now and we shall continue to need them.

WILSON ACCEPTS HIS RENOMINATION

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT SHADOW LAWN, NEW JERSEY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1916. FROM OFFICIAL PUBLICATION IN MR. WILSON'S FILES.

I CANNOT accept the leadership and responsibility which the National Democratic Convention has again, in such generous fashion, asked me to accept without first expressing my profound gratitude to the party for the trust it reposes in me after four years of fiery trial in the midst of affairs of unprecedented difficulty, and the keen sense of added responsibility with which this honour fills (I had almost said burdens) me as I think of the great issues of national life and policy involved in the present and immediate future conduct of our Government. I shall seek, as I have always sought, to justify the extraordinary confidence thus reposed in me by striving to purge my heart and purpose of every personal and of every misleading party motive and devoting every energy I have to the service of the nation as a whole, praying that I may continue to have the counsel and support of all forward-looking men at every turn of the difficult business.

For I do not doubt that the people of the United States will wish the Democratic Party to continue in control of the Government. They are not in the habit of rejecting those who have actually served them for those who are making doubtful and conjectural promises of service. Least of all are they likely to substitute those who promised to render them particular services and proved false to that promise for those who have actually rendered those very services.

Boasting is always an empty business, which pleases nobody but the boaster, and I have no disposition to

ST. THOMAS COLLEGE
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boast of what the Democratic Party has accomplished. It has merely done its duty. It has merely fulfilled its explicit promises. But there can be no violation of good taste in calling attention to the manner in which those promises have been carried out or in adverting to the interesting fact that many of the things accomplished were what the opposition party had again and again promised to do but had left undone. Indeed that is manifestly part of the business of this year of reckoning and assessment. There is no means of judging the future except by assessing the past. Constructive action must be weighed against destructive comment and reaction. The Democrats either have or have not understood the varied interests of the country. The test is contained in the record.

What is that record? What were the Democrats called into power to do? What things had long waited to be done, and how did the Democrats do them? It is a record of extraordinary length and variety, rich in elements of many kinds, but consistent in principle throughout and susceptible of brief recital.

The Republican party was put out of power because of failure, practical failure and moral failure; because it had served special interests and not the country at large; because, under the leadership of its preferred and established guides, of those who still make its choices, it had lost touch with the thoughts and the needs of the Nation and was living in a past age and under a fixed illusion, the illusion of greatness. It had framed tariff laws based upon a fear of foreign trade, a fundamental doubt as to American skill, enterprise, and capacity, and a very tender regard for the profitable privileges of those who had gained control of domestic markets and domestic credits; and yet had enacted antitrust laws which hampered the very things they meant to foster, which were stiff and inelastic, and in part unintelligible. It had permitted the country throughout the long period of its control to stagger from one finan-

cial crisis to another under the operation of a national banking law of its own framing which made stringency and panic certain and the control of the larger business operations of the country by the bankers of a few reserve centers inevitable; had made as if it meant to reform the law but had faint-heartedly failed in the attempt, because it could not bring itself to do the one thing necessary to make the reform genuine and effectual, namely, break up the control of small groups of bankers. It had been oblivious, or indifferent, to the fact that the farmers, upon whom the country depends for its food and in the last analysis for its prosperity, were without standing in the matter of commercial credit, without the protection of standards in their market transactions, and without systematic knowledge of the markets themselves; that the labourers of the country, the great army of men who man the industries it was professing to father and promote, carried their labour as a mere commodity to market, were subject to restraint by novel and drastic process in the courts, were without assurance of compensation for industrial accidents, without federal assistance in accommodating labour disputes, and without national aid or advice in finding the places and the industries in which their labour was most needed. The country had no national system of road construction and development. Little intelligent attention was paid to the army, and not enough to the navy. The other republics of America distrusted us, because they found that we thought first of the profits of American investors and only as an afterthought of impartial justice and helpful friendship. Its policy was provincial in all things; its purposes were out of harmony with the temper and purpose of the people and the timely development of the nation's interests.

So things stood when the Democratic Party came into power. How do they stand now? Alike in the domestic field and in the wide field of the commerce of

the world, American business and life and industry have been set free to move as they never moved before.

The tariff has been revised, not on the principle of repelling foreign trade, but upon the principle of encouraging it, upon something like a footing of equality with our own in respect of the terms of competition, and a Tariff Board has been created whose function it will be to keep the relations of American with foreign business and industry under constant observation, for the guidance alike of our business men and of our Congress. American energies are now directed towards the markets of the world.

The laws against trusts have been clarified by definition, with a view to making it plain that they were not directed against big business but only against unfair business and the pretense of competition where there was none; and a Trade Commission has been created with powers of guidance and accommodation which have relieved business men of unfounded fears and set them upon the road of hopeful and confident enterprise.

By the Federal Reserve Act the supply of currency at the disposal of active business has been rendered elastic, taking its volume, not from a fixed body of investment securities, but from the liquid assets of daily trade; and these assets are assessed and accepted, not by distant groups of bankers in control of unavailable reserves, but by bankers at the many centers of local exchange who are in touch with local conditions everywhere.

Effective measures have been taken for the re-creation of an American merchant marine and the revival of the American carrying trade indispensable to our emancipation from the control which foreigners have so long exercised over the opportunities, the routes, and the methods of our commerce with other countries.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has been reorganized to enable it to perform its great and important functions more promptly and more efficiently. We

have created, extended and improved the service of the parcels post.

So much we have done for business. What other party has understood the task so well or executed it so intelligently and energetically? What other party has attempted it at all? The Republican leaders, apparently, know of no means of assisting business but "protection." How to stimulate it and put it upon a new footing of energy and enterprise they have not suggested.

For the farmers of the country we have virtually created commercial credit, by means of the Federal Reserve Act and the Rural Credits Act. They now have the standing of other business men in the money market. We have successfully regulated speculation in "futures" and established standards in the marketing of grains. By an intelligent Warehouse Act we have assisted to make the standard crops available as never before both for systematic marketing and as a security for loans from the banks. We have greatly added to the work of neighborhood demonstration on the farm itself of improved methods of cultivation, and, through the intelligent extension of the functions of the Department of Agriculture, have made it possible for the farmer to learn systematically where his best markets are and how to get at them.

The workingmen of America have been given a veritable emancipation, by the legal recognition of a man's labour as part of his life, and not a mere marketable commodity; by exempting labour organizations from processes of the courts which treated their members like fractional parts of mobs and not like accessible and responsible individuals; by releasing our seamen from involuntary servitude; by making adequate provision for compensation for industrial accidents; by providing suitable machinery for mediation and conciliation in industrial disputes; and by putting the Federal Depart-

ment of Labor at the disposal of the workingman when in search of work.

We have effected the emancipation of the children of the country by releasing them from hurtful labour. We have instituted a system of national aid in the building of highroads such as the country has been feeling after for a century. We have sought to equalize taxation by means of an equitable income tax. We have taken the steps that ought to have been taken at the outset to open up the resources of Alaska. We have provided for national defense upon a scale never before seriously proposed upon the responsibility of an entire political party. We have driven the tariff lobby from cover and obliged it to substitute solid argument for private influence.

This extraordinary recital must sound like a platform, a list of sanguine promises; but it is not. It is a record of promises made four years ago and now actually redeemed in constructive legislation.

These things must profoundly disturb the thoughts and confound the plans of those who have made themselves believe that the Democratic Party neither understood nor was ready to assist the business of the country in the great enterprises which it is its evident and inevitable destiny to undertake and carry through. The breaking up of the lobby must especially disconcert them; for it was through the lobby that they sought and were sure they had found the heart of things. The game of privilege can be played successfully by no other means.

This record must equally astonish those who feared that the Democratic Party had not opened its heart to comprehend the demands of social justice. We have in four years come very near to carrying out the platform of the Progressive Party as well as our own; for we also are progressives.

There is one circumstance connected with this program which ought to be very plainly stated. It was

resisted at every step by the interests which the Republican Party had catered to and fostered at the expense of the country, and these same interests are now earnestly praying for a reaction which will save their privileges, —for the restoration of their sworn friends to power before it is too late to recover what they have lost. They fought with particular desperation and infinite resourcefulness the reform of the banking and currency system, knowing that to be the citadel of their control; and most anxiously are they hoping and planning for the amendment of the Federal Reserve Act by the concentration of control in a single bank which the old familiar group of bankers can keep under their eye and direction. But while the "big men" who used to write the tariffs and command the assistance of the Treasury have been hostile—all but a few with vision —the average business man knows that he has been delivered, and that the fear that was once every day in his heart that the men who controlled credit and directed enterprise from the committee rooms of Congress would crush him, is there no more, and will not return—unless the party that consulted only the "big men" should return to power—the party of masterly inactivity and cunning resourcefulness in standing pat to resist change.

The Republican Party is just the party that *cannot* meet the new conditions of a new age. It does not know the way and it does not wish new conditions. It tried to break away from the old leaders and could not. They still select its candidates and dictate its policy, still resist change, still hanker after the old conditions, still know no methods of encouraging business but the old methods. When it changes its leaders and its purposes and brings its ideas up to date it will have the right to ask the American people to give it power again; but not until then. A new age, an age of revolutionary change, needs new purposes and new ideas.

In foreign affairs we have been guided by princi-

ples clearly conceived and consistently lived up to. Perhaps they have not been fully comprehended because they have hitherto governed international affairs only in theory, not in practice. They are simple, obvious, easily stated, and fundamental to American ideals.

We have been neutral not only because it was the fixed and traditional policy of the United States to stand aloof from the politics of Europe and because we had had no part either of action or of policy in the influences which brought on the present war, but also because it was manifestly our duty to prevent it, if it were possible, the indefinite extension of the fires of hate and desolation kindled by that terrible conflict and seek to serve mankind by reserving our strength and our resources for the anxious and difficult days of restoraiton and healing which must follow, when peace will have to build its house anew.

The rights of our own citizens of course became involved: that was inevitable. Where they did, this was our guiding principle: that property rights can be vindicated by claims for damages when the war is over, and no modern nation can decline to arbitrate such claims; but the fundamental rights of humanity cannot be. The loss of life is irreparable. Neither can direct violations of a nation's sovereignty await vindication in suits for damages. The nation that violates these essential rights must expect to be checked and called to account by direct challenge and resistance. It at once makes the quarrel in part our own. These are plain principles and we have never lost sight of them or departed from them, whatever the stress or the perplexity of circumstance or the provocation to hasty resentment. The record is clear and consistent throughout and stands distinct and definite for anyone to judge who wishes to know the truth about it.

The seas were not broad enough to keep the infection of the conflict out of our own politics. The pas-

sions and intrigues of certain active groups and combinations of men amongst us who were born under foreign flags injected the poison of disloyalty into our own most critical affairs, laid violent hands upon many of our industries, and subjected us to the shame of divisions of sentiment and purpose in which America was contemned and forgotten. It is part of the business of this year of reckoning and settlement to speak plainly and act with unmistakable purpose in rebuke of these things, in order that they may be forever hereafter impossible. I am the candidate of a party, but I am above all things else an American citizen. I neither seek the favour nor fear the displeasure of that small alien element amongst us which puts loyalty to any foreign power before loyalty to the United States.

While Europe was at war our own continent, one of our own neighbours, was shaken by revolution. In that matter, too, principle was plain and it was imperative that we should live up to it if we were to deserve the trust of any real partisan of the right as free men see it. We have professed to believe, and we do believe, that the people of small and weak states have the right to expect to be dealt with exactly as the people of big and powerful states would be. We have acted upon that principle in dealing with the people of Mexico.

Our recent pursuit of bandits into Mexican territory was no violation of that principle. We ventured to enter Mexican territory only because there were no military forces in Mexico that could protect our border from hostile attack and our own people from violence, and we have committed there no single act of hostility or interference even with the sovereign authority of the Republic of Mexico herself. It was a plain case of the violation of our own sovereignty which could not wait to be vindicated by damages and for which there

was no other remedy. The authorities of Mexico were powerless to prevent it.

Many serious wrongs against the property, many irreparable wrongs against the persons, of Americans have been committed within the territory of Mexico herself during this confused revolution, wrongs which could not be effectually checked so long as there was no constituted power in Mexico which was in a position to check them. We could not act directly in that matter ourselves without denying Mexicans the right to any revolution at all which disturbed us and making the emancipation of her own people await our own interest and convenience.

For it is their emancipation that they are seeking—blindly, it may be, and as yet ineffectually, but with profound and passionate purpose and within their unquestionable right, apply what true American principle you will—any principle that an American would publicly avow. The people of Mexico have not been suffered to own their own country or direct their own institutions. Outsiders, men out of other nations and with interests too often alien to their own, have dictated what their privileges and opportunities should be and who should control their land, their lives, and their resources—some of them Americans, pressing for things they could never have got in their own country. The Mexican people are entitled to attempt their liberty from such influences; and so long as I have anything to do with the action of our great Government I shall do everything in my power to prevent anyone standing in their way. I know that this is hard for some persons to understand; but it is not hard for the plain people of the United States to understand. It is hard doctrine only for those who wish to get something for themselves out of Mexico. There are men, and noble women, too, not a few, of our own people, thank God! whose fortunes are invested in great properties in Mexico who yet see the case with true vision

and assess its issues with true American feeling. The rest can be left for the present out of the reckoning until this enslaved people has had its day of struggle towards the light. I have heard no one who was free from such influences propose interference by the United States with the internal affairs of Mexico. Certainly no friend of the Mexican people has proposed it.

The people of the United States are capable of great sympathies and a noble pity in dealing with problems of this kind. As their spokesman and representative, I have tried to act in the spirit they would wish me to show. The people of Mexico are striving for the rights that are fundamental to life and happiness—fifteen million oppressed men, overburdened women, and pitiful children in virtual bondage in their own home of fertile lands and inexhaustible treasure! Some of the leaders of the revolution may often have been mistaken and violent and selfish, but the revolution itself was inevitable and is right. The unspeakable Huerta betrayed the very comrades he served, traitorously overthrew the government of which he was a trusted part, impudently spoke for the very forces that had driven his people to the rebellion with which he had pretended to sympathize. The men who overcame him and drove him out represent at least the fierce passion of reconstruction which lies at the very heart of liberty; and so long as they represent, however imperfectly, such a struggle for deliverance, I am ready to serve their ends when I can. So long as the power of recognition rests with me the Government of the United States will refuse to extend the hand of welcome to any one who obtains power in a sister republic by treachery and violence. No permanency can be given the affairs of any republic by a title based upon intrigue and assassination. I declared that to be the policy of this Administration within three weeks after I assumed the presidency. I here again vow it. I am more interested in the fortunes of oppressed men

and pitiful women and children than in any property rights whatever. Mistakes I have no doubt made in this perplexing business, but not in purpose or object.

More is involved than the immediate destinies of Mexico and the relations of the United States with a distressed and distracted people. All America looks on. Test is now being made of us whether we be sincere lovers of popular liberty or not and are indeed to be trusted to respect national sovereignty among our weaker neighbours. We have undertaken these many years to play big brother to the republics of this hemisphere. This is the day of our test whether we mean, or have ever meant, to play that part for our own benefit wholly or also for theirs. Upon the outcome of that test (its outcome in their minds, not in ours) depends every relationship of the United States with Latin America, whether in politics or in commerce and enterprise. These are great issues and lie at the heart of the gravest tasks of the future, tasks both economic and political and very intimately inwrought with many of the most vital of the new issues of the politics of the world. The republics of America have in the last three years been drawing together in a new spirit of accommodation, mutual understanding, and cordial cooperation. Much of the politics of the world in the years to come will depend upon their relationships with one another. It is a barren and provincial statesmanship that loses sight of such things!

The future, the immediate future, will bring us squarely face to face with many great and exacting problems which will search us through and through whether we be able and ready to play the part in the world that we mean to play. It will not bring us into their presence slowly, gently, with ceremonious introduction, but suddenly and at once, the moment the war in Europe is over. They will be new problems, most of them; many will be old problems in a new setting and with new elements which we have never dealt

with or reckoned the force and meaning of before. They will require for their solution new thinking, fresh courage and resourcefulness, and in some matters radical reconsiderations of policy. We must be ready to mobilize our resources alike of brains and of materials.

It is not a future to be afraid of. It is, rather, a future to stimulate and excite us to the display of the best powers that are in us. We may enter it with confidence when we are sure that we understand it—and we have provided ourselves already with the means of understanding it.

Look first at what it will be necessary that the nations of the world should do to make the days to come tolerable and fit to live and work in; and then look at our part in what is to follow and our own duty of preparation. For we must be prepared both in resources and in policy.

There must be a just and settled peace, and we here in America must contribute the full force of our enthusiasm and of our authority as a nation to the organization of that peace upon world-wide foundations that cannot easily be shaken. No nation should be forced to take sides in any quarrel in which its own honour and integrity and the fortunes of its own people are not involved; but no nation can any longer remain neutral as against any wilful disturbance of the peace of the world. The effects of war can no longer be confined to the areas of battle. No nation stands wholly apart in interest when the life and interests of all nations are thrown into confusion and peril. If hopeful and generous enterprise is to be renewed, if the healing and helpful arts of life are indeed to be revived when peace comes again, a new atmosphere of justice and friendship must be generated by means the world has never tried before. The nations of the world must unite in joint guarantees that whatever is done to disturb the whole world's life must first be

tested in the court of the whole world's opinion before it is attempted.

These are the new foundations the world must build for itself, and we must play our part in the reconstruction, generously and without too much thought of our separate interests. We must make ourselves ready to play it intelligently, vigorously and well.

One of the contributions we must make to the world's peace is this: We must see to it that the people in our insular possessions are treated in their own lands as we would treat them here, and make the rule of the United States mean the same thing everywhere—the same justice, the same consideration for the essential rights of men.

Besides contributing our ungrudging moral and practical support to the establishment of peace throughout the world we must actively and intelligently prepare ourselves to do our full service in the trade and industry which are to sustain and develop the life of the nations in the days to come.

We have already been provident in this great matter and supplied ourselves with the instrumentalities of prompt adjustment. We have created, in the Federal Trade Commission, a means of inquiry and of accommodation in the field of commerce which ought both to co-ordinate the enterprises of our traders and manufacturers and to remove the barriers of misunderstanding and of a too technical interpretation of the law. In the new Tariff Commission we have added another instrumentality of observation and adjustment which promises to be immediately serviceable. The Trade Commission substitutes counsel and accommodation for the harsher processes of legal restraint, and the Tariff Commission ought to substitute facts for prejudices and theories. Our exporters have for some time had the advantage of working in the new light thrown upon foreign markets and opportunities of trade by the intelligent inquiries and activities of the Bureau

of Foreign and Domestic Commerce which the Democratic Congress so wisely created in 1912. The tariff Commission completes the machinery by which we shall be enabled to open up our legislative policy to the facts as they develop.

We can no longer indulge our traditional provincialism. We are to play a leading part in the world drama whether we wish it or not. We shall lend, not borrow; act for ourselves, not imitate or follow; organize and initiate, not peep about merely to see where we may get in.

We have already formulated and agreed upon a policy of law which will explicitly remove the ban now supposed to rest upon co-operation amongst our exporters in seeking and securing their proper place in the markets of the world. The field will be free, the instrumentalities at hand. It will only remain for the masters of enterprise amongst us to act in energetic concert, and for the Government of the United States to insist upon the maintenance throughout the world of those conditions of fairness and of even-handed justice in the commercial dealings of the nations with one another upon which, after all, in the last analysis, the peace and ordered life of the world must ultimately depend.

At home also we must see to it that the men who plan and develop and direct our business enterprises shall enjoy definite and settled conditions of law, a policy accommodated to the freest progress. We have set the just and necessary limits. We have put all kinds of unfair competition under the ban and penalty of the law. We have barred monopoly. These fatal and ugly things being excluded, we must now quicken action and facilitate enterprise by every just means within our choice. There will be peace in the business world, and, with peace, revived confidence and life.

We ought both to husband and to develop our natural resources, our mines, our forests, our water

power. I wish we could have made more progress than we have made in this vital matter; and I call once more, with the deepest earnestness and solicitude, upon the advocates of a careful and provident conservation, on the one hand, and the advocates of a free and inviting field for private capital, on the other, to get together in a spirit of genuine accommodation and agreement and set this great policy forward at once.

We must hasten and quicken the spirit and efficiency of labour throughout our whole industrial system by everywhere and in all occupations doing justice to the labourer, not only by paying a living wage but also by making all the conditions that surround labour what they ought to be. And we must do more than justice. We must safeguard life and promote health and safety in every occupation in which they are threatened or imperilled. That is more than justice, and better, because it is humanity and economy.

We must co-ordinate the railway systems of the country for national use, and must facilitate and promote their development with a view to that co-ordination and to their better adaptation as a whole to the life and trade and defense of the Nation. The life and industry of the country can be free and unhampered only if these articles are open, efficient, and complete.

Thus shall we stand ready to meet the future as circumstances and international policy effect their unfolding, whether the changes come slowly or come fast and without preface.

I have not spoken explicitly, gentlemen, of the platform adopted at St. Louis; but it has been implicit in all that I have said. I have sought to interpret its spirit and meaning. The people of the United States do not need to be assured now that the platform is a definite pledge, a practical program. We have proved to them that our promises are made to be kept.

We hold very definite ideals. We believe that the

energy and initiative of our people have been too narrowly coached and superintended; that they should be set free, as we have set them free, to disperse themselves throughout the Nation; that they should not be concentrated in the hands of a few powerful guides and guardians, as our opponents have again and again, in effect if not in purpose, sought to concentrate them. We believe, moreover,—who that looks about him now with comprehending eye can fail to believe?—that the day of Little Americanism, with its narrow horizons, when methods of "protection" and industrial nursing were the chief study of our provincial statesmen, are past and gone and that a day of enterprise has at last dawned for the United States whose field is the wide world.

We hope to see the stimulus of that new day draw all America, the republics of both continents, on to a new life and energy and initiative in the great affairs of peace. We are Americans for Big America, and rejoice to look forward to the days in which America shall strive to stir the world without irritating it or drawing it on to new antagonisms, when the nations with which we deal shall at last come to see upon what deep foundations of humanity and justice our passion for peace rests, and when all mankind shall look upon our great people with a new sentiment of admiration, friendly rivalry and real affection, as upon a people who, though keen to succeed, seeks always to be at once generous and just and to whom humanity is dearer than profit or selfish power.

Upon this record and in the faith of this purpose we go to the country.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

ACCEPTANCE OF THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL, HODGENVILLE, KENTUCKY. SEPTEMBER 4, 1916. FROM THE "CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 64TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION, VOL. 53, APPENDIX, P. 2160.

NO more significant memorial could have been presented to the nation than this. It expresses so much of what is singular and noteworthy in the history of the country; it suggests so many of the things that we prize most highly in our life and in our system of government. How eloquent this little house within this shrine is of the vigor of democracy! There is nowhere in the land any home so remote, so humble, that it may not contain the power of mind and heart and conscience to which nations yield and history submits its processes. Nature pays no tribute to aristocracy, subscribes to no creed of caste, renders fealty to no monarch or master of any name or kind. Genius is no snob. It does not run after titles or seek by preference the high circles of society. It affects humble company as well as great. It pays no special tribute to universities or learned societies or conventional standards of greatness, but serenely chooses its own comrades, its own haunts, its own cradle even, and its own life of adventure and of training. Here is proof of it. This little hut was the cradle of one of the great sons of men, a man of singular, delightful, vital genius who presently emerged upon the great stage of the nation's history, gaunt, shy, ungainly, but dominant and majestic, a natural ruler of men, himself inevitably the central figure of the great plot. No man can explain this, but every man can see how it demonstrates the vigor of democracy, where every door is open, in every hamlet and countryside, in city and wilderness alike, for the ruler to emerge when he will

and claim his leadership in the free life. Such are the authentic proofs of the validity and vitality of democracy.

Here, no less, hides the mystery of democracy. Who shall guess this secret of nature and providence and a free polity? Whatever the vigor and vitality of the stock from which he sprang, its mere vigor and soundness do not explain where this man got his great heart that seemed to comprehend all mankind in its catholic and benignant sympathy, the mind that sat enthroned behind those brooding, melancholy eyes, whose vision swept many an horizon which those about him dreamed not of, that mind that comprehended what it had never seen, and understood the language of affairs with the ready ease of one to the manner born—or that nature which seemed in its varied richness to be the familiar of men of every way of life. This is the sacred mystery of democracy, that its richest fruits spring up out of soils which no man has prepared and in circumstances amidst which they are the least expected. This is a place alike of mystery and of reassurance.

It is likely that in a society ordered otherwise than our own Lincoln could not have found himself or the path of fame and power upon which he walked serenely to his death. In this place it is right that we should remind ourselves of the solid and striking facts upon which our faith in democracy is founded. Many another man besides Lincoln has served the nation in its highest places of counsel and of action whose origins were as humble as his. Though the greatest example of the universal energy, richness, stimulation, and force of democracy, he is only one example among many. The permeating and all-pervasive virtue of the freedom which challenges us in America to make the most of every gift and power we possess every page of our history serves to emphasize and illustrate. Standing here in this place, it seems almost the whole of the stirring story.

Here Lincoln had his beginnings. Here the end and consummation of that great life seem remote and a bit incredible. And yet there was no break anywhere between beginning and end, no lack of natural sequence anywhere. Nothing really incredible happened. Lincoln was unaffectedly as much at home in the White House as he was here. Do you share with me the feeling, I wonder, that he was permanently at home nowhere? It seems to me that in the case of a man—I would rather say of a spirit—like Lincoln the question *where* he was is of little significance, that it is always *what* he was that really arrests our thought and takes hold of our imagination. It is the spirit always that is sovereign. Lincoln, like the rest of us, was put through the discipline of the world—a very rough and exacting discipline for him, an indispensable discipline for every man who would know what he is about in the midst of the world's affairs; but his spirit got only its schooling there. It did not derive its character or its vision from the experiences which brought it to its full revelation. The test of every American must always be, not where he is, but what he is. That, also, is of the essence of democracy, and is the moral of which this place is most gravely expressive.

We would like to think of men like Lincoln and Washington as typical Americans, but no man can be typical who is so unusual as these great men were. It was typical of American life that it should produce such men with supreme indifference as to the manner in which it produced them, and as readily here in this hut as amidst the little circle of cultivated gentlemen to whom Virginia owed so much in leadership and example. And Lincoln and Washington were typical Americans in the use they made of their genius. But there will be few such men at best, and we will not look into the mystery of how and why they come. We will only keep the door open for them always, and a hearty welcome—after we have recognized them.

I have read many biographies of Lincoln; I have sought out with the greatest interest the many intimate stories that are told of him, the narratives of nearby friends, the sketches at close quarters, in which those who had the privilege of being associated with him have tried to depict for us the very man himself "in his habit as he lived;" but I have nowhere found a real intimate of Lincoln's. I nowhere get the impression in any narrative or reminiscence that the writer had in fact penetrated to the heart of his mystery, or that any man could penetrate to the heart of it. That brooding spirit had no real familiars. I get the impression that it never spoke out in complete self-revelation, and that it could not reveal itself completely to anyone. It was a very lonely spirit that looked out from underneath those shaggy brows and comprehended men without fully communing with them, as if, in spite of all its genial efforts at comradeship, it dwelt apart, saw its visions of duty where no man looked on. There is a very holy and very terrible isolation for the conscience of every man who seeks to read the destiny in affairs for others as well as for himself, for a nation as well as for individuals. That privacy no man can intrude upon. That lonely search of the spirit for the right perhaps no man can assist. This strange child of the cabin kept company with invisible things, was born into no intimacy but that of its own silently assembling and deploying thoughts.

I have come here to-day, not to utter a eulogy on Lincoln; he stands in need of none, but to endeavor to interpret the meaning of this gift to the nation of the place of his birth and origin. Is not this an altar upon which we may forever keep alive the vestal fire of democracy as upon a shrine at which some of the deepest and most sacred hopes of mankind may from age to age be rekindled? For these hopes must constantly be rekindled, and only those who live can rekindle them. The only stuff that can retain the life-giving heat is the stuff

of living hearts. And the hopes of mankind cannot be kept alive by words merely, by constitutions and doctrines of right and codes of liberty. The object of democracy is to transmute these into the life and action of society, the self-denial and self-sacrifice of heroic men and women willing to make their lives an embodiment of right and service and enlightened purpose. The commands of democracy are as imperative as its privileges and opportunities are wide and generous. Its compulsion is upon us. It will be great and lift a great light for the guidance of the nations only if we are great and carry that light high for the guidance of our own feet. We are not worthy to stand here unless we ourselves be in deed and in truth real democrats and servants of mankind, ready to give our very lives for the freedom and justice and spiritual exaltation of the great Nation which shelters and nurtures us.

THE PRESIDENT DOES NOT COMMIT HIMSELF

ADDRESS AT THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONVENTION, ATLANTIC CITY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1916. FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FILES.

I HAVE found it a real privilege to be here to-night and to listen to the addresses which you have heard. Though you may not all of you believe it, I would a great deal rather hear somebody else speak than speak myself; but I should feel that I was omitting a duty if I did not address you to-night and say some of the things that have been in my thought as I realized the approach of this evening and the duty that would fall upon me.

The astonishing thing about the movement which you represent is, not that it has grown so slowly, but that it has grown so rapidly. No doubt for those who have been a long time in the struggle, like your honored president, it seems a long and arduous path that has been trodden, but when you think of the cumulating force of this movement in recent decades, you must agree with me that it is one of the most astonishing tides in modern history. Two generations ago, no doubt Madam President will agree with me in saying, it was a handful of women who were fighting this cause. Now it is a great multitude of women who are fighting it.

And there are some interesting historical connections which I would like to attempt to point out to you. One of the most striking facts about the history of the United States is that at the outset it was a lawyers' history. Almost all of the questions to which America addressed itself, say a hundred years ago, were legal questions, were questions of method, not questions of

what you were going to do with your Government, but questions of how you were going to constitute your Government—how you were going to balance the powers of the States and the Federal Government, how you were going to balance the claims of property against the processes of liberty, how you were going to make your governments up so as to balance the parts against each other so that the legislature would check the executive, and the executive the legislature, and the courts both of them put together. The whole conception of government when the United States became a Nation was a mechanical conception of government and the mechanical conception of government which underlay it was the Newtonian theory of the universe. If you pick up the Federalist, some parts of it read like a treatise on astronomy instead of a treatise on government. They speak of the centrifugal and the centripetal forces, and locate the President somewhere in a rotating system. The whole thing is a calculation of power and an adjustment of parts. There was a time when nobody but a lawyer could know enough to run the Government of the United States, and a distinguished English publicist once remarked, speaking of the complexity of the American Government, that it was no proof of the excellence of the American Constitution that it had been successfully operated, because the Americans could run any constitution. But there have been a great many technical difficulties in running it.

And then something happened. A great question arose in this country which, though complicated with legal elements, was at bottom a human question, and nothing but a question of humanity. That was the slavery question. And is it not significant that it was then, and then for the first time, that women became prominent in politics in America? Not many women; those prominent in that day were so few that you can name them over in a brief catalogue, but, nevertheless, they then began to play a part in writing, not only, but

in public speech, which was a very novel part for women to play in America. After the Civil War had settled some of what seemed to be the most difficult legal questions of our system, the life of the Nation began not only to unfold, but to accumulate. Life in the United States was a comparatively simple matter at the time of the Civil War. There was none of that underground struggle which is now so manifest to those who look only a little way beneath the surface. Stories such as Dr. Davis has told to-night were uncommon in those simpler days. The pressure of low wages, the agony of obscure and unremunerated toil, did not exist in America in anything like the same proportions that they exist now.

And as our life has unfolded and accumulated, as the contacts of it have become hot, as the populations have assembled in the cities and the cool spaces of the country have been supplanted by the feverish urban areas, the whole nature of our political questions has been altered. They have ceased to be legal questions. They have more and more become social questions, questions with regard to the relations of human beings to one another—not merely their legal relations, but their moral and spiritual relations to one another. This has been most characteristic of American life in the last few decades, and as these questions have assumed greater and greater prominence, the movement which this association represents has gathered cumulative force. So that, if anybody asks himself, "What does this gathering force mean?" if he knows anything about the history of the country, he knows that it means something that has not only come to stay, but has come with conquering power.

I get a little impatient sometimes about the discussion of the channels and methods by which it is to prevail. It is going to prevail, and that is a very superficial and ignorant view of it which attributes it to mere social unrest. It is not merely because the women are dis-

contented. It is because the women have seen visions of duty, and that is something which we not only cannot resist, but, if we be true Americans, we do not wish to resist. America took its origin in visions of the human spirit, in aspirations for the deepest sort of liberty of the mind and of the heart, and as visions of that sort come up to the sight of those who are spiritually minded in America, America comes more and more into her birthright and into the perfection of her development.

So that what we have to realize in dealing with forces of this sort is that we are dealing with the substance of life itself. I have felt as I sat here tonight the wholesome contagion of the occasion. Almost every other time that I ever visited Atlantic City, I came to fight somebody. I hardly know how to conduct myself when I have not come to fight against anybody, but with somebody. I have come to suggest, among other things, that when the forces of nature are steadily working and the tide is rising to meet the moon, you need not be afraid that it will not come to its flood. We feel the tide; we rejoice in the strength of it; and we shall not quarrel in the long run as to the method of it. Because, when you are working with masses of men and organized bodies of opinion, you have got to carry the organized body along. The whole art and practice of government consists, not in moving individuals, but in moving masses. It is all very well to run ahead and beckon, but, after all, you have got to wait for the body to follow. I have not come to ask you to be patient, because you have been, but I have come to congratulate you that there was a force behind you that will beyond any peradventure be triumphant, and for which you can afford a little while to wait.

LABOR AND CAPITAL

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT SHADOW LAWN, SEPTEMBER 23, 1916. FROM THE NEW YORK "TIMES," SEPTEMBER 24, 1916.

I NEED not tell you what a sense of gratification it gives me that you should come bearing this generous message which I have just heard from your chairman. There is a sense in which the business men of America represent America, because America has devoted herself time out of mind to the arts and achievements of peace, and business is the organization of the energies of peace.

No one who looks about upon the field of American business at the present moment can fail to realize that a new breath and spirit have come into the business of America. There have been times when it looked as if America were interested only in herself, but in these recent years American business men have lifted their eyes to more distant horizons and have seen how the markets of the world were waiting for their service, and as they have sought and obtained entrance into these markets a new vision has come to them of what the development of the resources of America means; of what the organization of American efficiency means; of why it was that American merchants and American manufactures and American miners, and all the multitude of men who have developed the peaceful industries of America were planted under this free polity in order that they might look out upon the service of mankind and perform it.

There never was a time when the pulse of energy and success beat so strongly in the veins of American business as it beats to-day. And yet I hope that all business men in America realize that we are only at the begin-

ning of a new era. America has not played its proportionate part in the development of the trade of the world. I mean that it has not played a part proportionate to the gifts of Americans and the resources of America, and that in the times to come, partly because of the unhappy circumstances of recent years, but chiefly because America is now about to release her energies, the scope of American business will be what men have hitherto not dreamed of, if American men know how to take advantage of the opportunity.

The problems that are before American business are world problems rather than American, domestic problems. America must understand the world in order to subject it to its peaceful service. And yet, when we look upon the field of American business there are some things that disturb us. Some men think that the way to advance American business is to walk backward and to attempt again the provincial policies which have characterized an age when we shut our doors against the influences of the world. But the chief cloud that is upon the domestic horizon is the unsatisfactory relations of capital and labor. There is only one way, gentlemen, in which the relations of capital and labor can be rendered satisfactory. That is by, in the first place, regarding labor as a human relationship of men with men; and, in the second place, to regard labor as part of the general partnership of energy which is going to make for the success of business men and business enterprises in this country. So long as labor and capital stand antagonistic, the interests of both are injured and the prosperity of America is held back from the triumphs which are legitimately its own.

You know that we have been a legalistic people. I say with all due respect to some men for whom I have a high esteem that we have been too much under the guidance of the lawyers, and that the lawyer has always regarded the relations between the employer and the employee as merely a contractual relationship, whereas

it is, while based upon contract, very much more than contractual relationship. It is a relationship between one set of men and another set of men with hearts under their jackets and with interests that they ought to serve in common and with persons whom they love and must support on the one side and on the other. Labor is not a commodity. It is a form of co-operation, and if I can make a man believe in me, know that I am just, know that I want to share the profits of success with him, I can get ten times as much out of him as if he thought I were his antagonist. And his labor is cheap at any price. That is the human side of it, and the human side extends to this conception, that that laboring man is a partner of his employer. If he is a mere tool of his employer, he is only as serviceable as the tool. His enthusiasm does not go into it. He does not plan how the work shall be better done. He does not look upon the aspect of the business or enterprise as a whole and wish to co-operate the advantage of his brain and his invention to the success of it as a whole. Human relationships, my fellow-citizens, are governed by the heart, and if the heart is not in it nothing is in it.

I have recently been through an experience which distressed me. I tried to accommodate a difference between some of the employes of the American railways and the executives of the American railways, and the distressing thing I discovered was that on the one hand there was unlimited suspicion and distrust of the other side, and that that suspicion and distrust was returned by the other side in full measure. The executives did not believe in the sincerity of the men, and the men did not believe in the sincerity and fairness of the executives, and while arbitration was being discussed, I had this sad thought: Arbitration is a word associated with the dealings of hostile interests. It is an alternative of war. There ought to be no such thing as the

contemplation of hostility between men whose interests are the same and who should co-operate together.

And, therefore, it came upon me with a force that it had never had before that the real problem of capital and labor was to bring the two sides to understand and believe in one another; that the problem of the next generation, if America were really to release her energy, was to be this real, genuine, fundamental reconciliation between capital and labor. I did not realize until I held those conferences just how far apart they were in that particular and indispensable part of our national life, the transportation of the country, and when I did realize it, I saw that there was a great task that was worth any man's while ahead of us, to bring the minds of the country together, to see that men understood one another, to see that they had some assurance that they were speaking the truth to one another. I never had franker conferences in my life than I had with the representatives of the two sides.

You know that when the public began to notice this controversy it had already been going on for some time. I had been watching it with great anxiety, and when it became evident that an accommodation was not going to be reached I thought it my duty to try my hand at the difficult task of accommodation, because I knew how much was involved, not only in the immediate effects of a great strike such as was threatened, but also in the ultimate effects, the soreness left, the resentment that would remain, the feelings of hostility that would be accentuated; and so I asked the privilege of consulting with them. Before I consulted with them, I, of course, made myself acquainted with the points at controversy, and I learned that they were very simple indeed; that the men demanded an eight-hour day, and that, in order to make the eight-hour day work they demanded that the railroads pay them one-half more for overtime than they paid them for the time in the regular day, the men alleging that that was the only way in which they could

obtain a genuine eight-hour day, by making the railroads pay more for the time beyond the eight hours than they paid for the time within the eight hours. I saw at once that there was one part of this that was arbitrable, but that in my opinion there was another part that was not arbitrable. I do not regard the question of the principle of the eight-hour day as arbitrable.

The first thing I told both sides before I requested their opinion was that I stood for the eight-hour day. I received no suggestion of any kind from either side as to what the basis of settlement was to be, except that the railroad executives did suggest that Congress give them some sort of assurance that if the eight-hour day went into operation, they would get increased rates for the carriage of their freight. I pointed out to them that it was impossible to tell whether they would need increased rates for the carriage of their freights. We believe in the eight-hour day because a man does better work within eight hours than he does within a more extended day, and that the whole theory of it, a theory which is sustained now by abundant experience, is that his efficiency is increased, his spirit in his work is improved, and the whole moral and physical vigor of the man is added to. This is no longer conjectural. Where it has been tried, it has been demonstrated. The judgment of society, the vote of every legislature in America that has voted upon it is a verdict in favor of the eight-hour day. And, therefore, I said to these gentlemen on both sides at the very beginning, "The eight-hour day ought to be conceded." But they said, "It will cost us an immense sum of money."

"How do you know how much it will cost you?" You remember there was a case decided by the Supreme Court of the United States. It was known as the "Eighty-Cent Gas Case," where, by legislation in the State of New York, 80 cents was established as the charge for the unit of the supply of gas, and the law

was contested upon the ground that it was confiscatory, and therefore unconstitutional. And when the appeal reached the Supreme Court of the United States it said: "Nobody can tell until you try to manufacture gas at 80 cents whether it is confiscatory or not. Go ahead and manufacture gas and sell it for 80 cents, and then, if it proves impossible to conduct your business upon that charge, come back and discuss with us the confiscatory character of this act." And it may be remarked in passing that the company never went back to discuss it.

I said to the railroad executives, "You are asking that the results of the eight-hour day be predicted and the prediction be arbitrated. You are asking for the arbitration of a conjecture, of an opinion, of a forecast of the figures of experts based upon an entirely different experience, and if you were to ask me personally to arbitrate such a question, I would say I am not competent to arbitrate it. The reasonable thing to do is to grant the eight-hour day, not because the men demand it, but because it is right, and let me get authority from Congress to appoint a commission of as impartial nature as I can choose to observe the results and report upon the results in order that justice may in the event be done the railroads in respect of the cost of the experiment." That was the proposal which they rejected and which Congress put into law, a proposal which I made to them before I conferred with it, which I urged upon them at every conference, and which, when the one side rejected and the other side accepted, I went to Congress and asked Congress to enact. I did not ask either side whether it suited them, and I requested my friends in Congress not to ask either side whether it suited them. I learned before the controversy began, so far as I was concerned in it, that the whole temper of the legislative body of the United States was in favor of the eight-hour day.

When I carried it to Congress some very interesting

things happened. In the House of Representatives the plan was passed, was sanctioned by a vote which included, I am told, about seventy Republicans, as against fifty-four Republicans, and in the Senate, I am informed that the Republican members of the Senate held a conference in which they determined to put no obstacle in the way of the passage of the bill. Now this was because the proposal was reasonable and was based upon right. But, ladies and gentlemen, that is not the end of the story. This thing ought to have been done, and it had to be done at the time that it was done, so as to bring about a reasonable trial of the eight-hour day and a careful examination of the results of the eight-hour day. But that does not finish the matter. Let me call your attention to what I believe we ought all to be thinking about so as to set the stage for this and all similar cases.

There are some things in which society is so profoundly interested that its interests take precedence of the interests of any group of men whatever. One of these things is the supply of the absolute necessaries of life. It would be intolerable if at any time any group of men by any process should be suffered to cut society off from the necessary supplies which sustain life. But those supplies are of no use unless they can be distributed, and in the matter of the distribution of goods, particularly of the goods that sustain life and industry, the interest of society is paramount to every other interest; and the difficulty about all situations like that which we have passed through is this—that the main partner is left out of the reckoning. These men were dealing with one another as if the only thing to settle was between themselves, whereas, the real thing to settle was what rights had the hundred million people of the United States. The business of government is to see that no other organization is as strong as itself; to see that no body or group of men, no matter what their

private interest is, may come into competition with the authority of society, and the problem which Congress, because of the lateness of the session, has for a few months postponed, is this problem: By what means are we going to oblige persons who come to a controversy like this to admit the public into the partnership by which the thing is discussed and decided? That is not an easy problem. A great many different methods have been proposed, and one of the reasons why Congress thought it necessary to postpone the decision for a few months was that there were so many honest differences of opinion, not as to the object, but as to the method.

I want to suggest to you a method of testing your fellow-men, as to whether they know what they are talking about or not. It is not necessary for a man to come and argue with me an obvious moral principle, but I am very much interested when he comes and argues with me how he is going to make it work. And when men say, "We must not permit any organization to neglect the interests of society," I say "Amen!" but what I want to sit down and discuss with you is, how are we going to prevent it?

The only thing worth talking about in politics or any other sphere is the constructive idea. "How are you going to do it?" We all know, or, at any rate, we pretend to know, what we ought to do, but we do not all know how to do it, and the very difficult question which the American people is now face to face with, and which they are going to settle, is this: "How are we going to organize our participation as a partner in the settlement of disputes between capital and labor which interrupt the life of the nation?" Invite all subscribers to suggest a method!

The question is apt to be obscured in some quarters, as if we were saying that it was the right of the Government or of organized society, which is another term for the same thing, to say to a man: "You must work

whether you want to or not." America is never going to say to any individual, "You must work whether you want to or not," but it is privileged to say to an organization of persons: "You must not interrupt the national life without consulting us." It is not a question of obliging individuals; it is a question of enforcing a partnership and seeing to it that no organization is stronger than that organization which we all belong to and support and call and love by the name of our own government.

So I laid a program before Congress by which, at any rate, a beginning might be made in that direction, and that program is going to be proceeded with. It is no fun in talking unless you can expect to do something. The only zest that ever comes into affairs for a man with red blood in his veins is the zest that comes when he is put to it to think out a difficult thing and do it; and I for my part congratulate the business men of America that some of their difficulties have been removed by legislation, that they have been fortified against certain forms of control which must have been intolerable to them, and that they have had their real commercial strength put at their service by such acts as the Federal Reserve act, for example, and that now, if they think they can conquer the world, it is up to them to do it; and that nobody is going to assist them, because it is a thing in which they cannot be assisted by anything but their own brain. We are now out in the open, competitors for the confidence of the world, and there is only one way to get it and that is to earn it.

I cannot imagine anything more inspiring than to be put on your mettle after legislation has taken the shackles off you and apprised you that you are no man's servant. Reaction in this matter would shut us up like a province. To turn back upon any portion of the road we have traveled would be craven. To pretend that we are able to compete with the world and then cringe at the opportunity would not be worthy of any of the tra-

ditions of America, and so for my part I am particularly proud to be supported by the business opinion of American men because I know myself to have a very great enthusiasm for the triumphant development of American enterprise throughout the world.

THE RELATION OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE BUSINESS OF THE WORLD

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE GRAIN DEALERS' ASSOCIATION, BALTIMORE, SEPTEMBER 25, 1916. FROM THE WHITE HOUSE FILES.

IT is a matter of sincere gratification to me that I can come and address an association of this sort, and yet I feel that there is a certain drawback to the present occasion. That drawback consists of the fact that it occurs in the midst of a political campaign. Nothing so seriously interrupts or interferes with the sober and sincere consideration of public questions as a political campaign. I want to say to you at the outset that I believe in *party* action, but that I have a supreme contempt for *partisan* action; that I believe that it is necessary for men to concert measures together in organized co-operation by party, but that whenever party feeling touches any one of the passions that work against the general interest, it is altogether to be condemned. Therefore, I feel that on occasions like this we should divest ourselves of the consciousness that we are in the midst of a political campaign because associations like this are not gathered together to take part in partisan discussion, but to consider those permanent interests of the Nation which concern us all the time, which do not alter their aspects because parties are contesting for power, and that we ought as much as possible on all occasions to think of ourselves as first of all men devoted to the welfare of the country and as compared with that devoted to nothing else whatever.

What I have come to say to you to-day, therefore, I would wish to say in an atmosphere from which all the vapors of passions have been cleared away, for I want to speak to you about the business situation of the

world, so far as America is concerned. I am not going to take the liberty of discussing that business situation from the special point of view of your association, because I know that I would be bringing coals to Newcastle. I know that I am speaking to men who understand the relation of the grain business to the business of the world very much better than I do; and I know that it is true that, except under very unusual circumstances such as have existed in the immediate past, the export of grain from this country has been a diminishing part of our foreign commerce rather than an increasing part; that the increase of our own population—the decrease in proportion to that increase, of our production of grains—has been rendering the question of foreign markets less important, though still very important, than it was in past generations, so far as the dealing in grain is concerned. I also remember, however, that we have only begun in this country the process by which the full production of our agricultural acreage is to be obtained. The agricultural acreage of this country ought to produce twice what it is now producing, and under the stimulation and instruction which have recently been characteristic of agricultural development I think we can confidently predict that within, let us say, a couple of decades, the agricultural production of this country will be something like double, whereas, there is no likelihood that the population of this country will be doubled within the same period. You can look forward, therefore, it seems to me, with some degree of confidence to an increasing, and perhaps a rapidly increasing, volume of the products in which you deal.

But, as I have said, I have not come to discuss that. I have come to discuss the general relation of the United States to the business of the world in the decades immediately ahead of us. We have swung out, my fellow citizens, into a new business era in America. I suppose that there is no man connected with your asso-

ciation who does not remember the time when the whole emphasis of American business discussion was laid upon the domestic market. I need not remind you how recently it has happened that our attention has been extended to the markets of the world; much less recently, I need not say, in the matters with which you are concerned than in the other export interests of the country. But it happened that American production, not only in the agricultural field and in mining and in all the natural products of the earth, but also in manufacture, increased in recent years to such a volume that American business burst its jacket. It could not any longer be taken care of within the field of the domestic markets; and when that began to disclose itself as the situation, we also became aware that American business men had not studied foreign markets, that they did not know the commerce of the world, and that they did not have the ships in which to take their proportionate part in the carrying trade of the world; that our merchant marine had sunk to a negligible amount, and that it had sunk to its lowest at the very time when the tide of our exports began to grow in most formidable volume.

One of the most interesting circumstances of our business history is this: The banking laws of the United States—I mean the Federal banking laws—did not put the national banks in a position to do foreign exchange under favorable conditions, and it was actually true that private banks, and sometimes branch banks drawn out of other countries, notably out of Canada, were established at our chief ports to do what American bankers ought to have done. It was as if America was not only unaccustomed to touching all the nerves of the world's business, but was disinclined to touch them, and had not prepared the instrumentality by which it might take part in the great commerce of the round globe. Only in very recent years have we been even studying the problem of providing ourselves with the instrumentalities.

Not until the recent legislation of Congress known

as the Federal reserve act were the Federal banks of this country given the proper equipment through which they could assist American commerce not only in our own country but in any part of the world where they chose to set up branch institutions. British banks had been serving British merchants all over the world, German banks had been serving German merchants all over the world, and no national bank of the United States had been serving American merchants anywhere in the world except in the United States. We had, as it were, deliberately refrained from playing our part in the field in which we prided ourselves that we were most ambitious and most expert, the field of manufacture and of commerce. All that is past, and the scene has been changed by the events of the last two years, almost suddenly, and with a completeness that almost daunts the planning mind. Not only when this war is over, but now, America has her place in the world and must take her place in the world of finance and commerce upon a scale that she never dreamed of before.

My dream is that she will take her place in that great field in a new spirit which the world has never seen before; not the spirit of those who would exclude others, but the spirit of those who would excel others. I want to see America pitted against the world, not in selfishness, but in brains.

The first thing that brains have to feed upon is knowledge, and when I hear men proposing to deal with the business problems of the United States in the future as we dealt with them in the past I do not have to inquire any further whether they are equipped with knowledge. I dismiss them from the reckoning, because I know that the facts are going to dominate, and they know nothing about these facts. And the most that we can supply ourselves with just now is, not the detailed program of policy, but the instrumentalities of gaining thorough knowledge of what we are about. Every man of us must for some time to come be "from Missouri!"

We must want to know what the facts are, and when we know what the facts are, we shall know what the policy ought to be.

What instrumentalities have we provided ourselves with in order that we may be equipped with knowledge? There has been an instrumentality in operation for four or five years of which, strangely enough, American business men have only slowly become aware. Some four or five years ago the Congress established, in connection with the department which was then the Department of Commerce and Labor (now the Department of Commerce) a Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and one of the advantages which the American Government has derived from that bureau is that it has been able to hire brains for much less than the brains were worth. It is in a way a national discredit to us, my fellow citizens, that we are paying studious men, capable of understanding anything and of conducting any business, just about one-third of what they could command in the field of business; and it is one of the admirable circumstances of American life that they are proud to serve the Government on a pittance. There are such men in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. They have been studying the foreign commerce of this country as it was never studied before, and have been making reports so comprehensive and so thorough that they compare to their great advantage with the reports of any similar bureau of any other government in the world, and I have found to my amazement that some of the best of those reports seem never to have been read.

All you have to do in order to find out the details of some of the greatest fields of activity in the world in the matter of business is to resort to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; but there, again, the phenomena that I have been speaking of have displayed themselves in a very remarkable way. It needed the catastrophe and the tragedy of this war to awaken

American business men to the fact that these were the things which they must know and know at once.

And then, in addition to that, there was recently created the Federal Trade Commission. It is hard to describe the functions of that commission; all I can say is that it has transformed the Government of the United States from being an antagonist of business into being a friend of business. A few years ago American business men—I think you will corroborate this statement—took up their morning paper with some degree of nervousness to see what the Government was doing to them. I ask you if you take up the morning paper now with any degree of nervousness? And I ask you if you have not found, those of you who have dealt with it all, the Federal Trade Commission to be put there to show you the way in which the Government can help you and not the way in which the Government can hinder you?

But that is not the matter that I am most interested in. It has always been a fiction—I don't know who invented it or why he invented it—that there was a contest between the law and business. There has always been a contest in every government between the law and bad business, and I do not want to see that contest softened in any way; but there has never been any contest between men who intended the right thing and the men who administered the law. But what I want to speak about is this: One of the functions of the Federal Trade Commission is to inquire with the fullest powers ever conferred upon a similar commission in this country into all the circumstances of American business for the purpose of doing for American business exactly what the Department of Agriculture has so long and with increasing efficiency done for the farmer, inform the American business man of every element, big and little, with which it is his duty to deal. Here are created searching eyes of inquiry to do the very thing that it was imperatively necessary and immediately necessary

that the country should do—look upon the field of business and know what was going on!

And then, in the third place, you know that we have just now done what it was common sense to do about the tariff. We have not put this into words, but I do not hesitate to put it into words: We have admitted that on the one side and on the other we were talking theories and managing policies without a sufficient knowledge of the facts upon which we were acting, and, therefore, we have established what is intended to be a non-partisan Tariff Commission to study the conditions with which legislation has to deal in the matter of the relations of American with foreign business transactions. Another eye created to see the facts! And I am hopeful that I can find the men who will see the facts and state them, no matter whose opinion those facts contradict. For an opinion ought always to have a profound respect for a fact, and when you once get the facts opinions that are antagonistic to those facts are necessarily defeated. I have never found a really courageous man who was afraid to put his opinion to the test of facts, or a morally sincere man who was not ready to surrender to the facts when they were contrary to his opinion. The Tariff Commission is going to look for the facts no matter who is hurt. We are creating one after another the instrumentalities of knowledge, so that the business men of this country shall know what the field of the world's business is and deal with that field upon that knowledge.

Then, when the knowledge is obtained, what are we going to do? One of the things that interests me most about an association of this sort is that the intention of it is that the members should share a common body of information, and that they should concert among themselves those operations of business which are beneficial to all of them; that, instead of a large number of dealers in grain acting separately and each fighting for his own hand, you are willing to come together and

study the problem as if you were partners and brothers and co-operators in this field of business. That has been going on in every occupation in the United States of any consequence. Even the men that do the advertising have been getting together, and they have made this startling and fundamental discovery, that the only way to advertise successfully is to tell the truth. There are many reasons for that. One of the chief reasons is that when you get found out it is worse for you than it was before; but the great reason, the sober reason, is that business must be founded on the truth, and you men get together in order to create a clearing house for the truth about your business.

Very well, that is a picture in small of what we must do in the large. We must co-operate in the whole field of business, the Government with the merchant, the merchant with his employee, the whole body of producers with the whole body of consumers, to see that the right things are produced in the right volume and find the right purchasers at the right place, and that, all working together, we realize that nothing can be for the individual benefit which is not for the common benefit.

You know that there was introduced in the House of Representatives recently a bill, commonly called the Webb bill, for the purpose of stating it as the policy of the law of the United States that nothing in the anti-trust laws now existing should be interpreted to interfere with the proper sort of co-operation among exporters. The foreign field is not like the domestic field. The foreign field is full of combinations meant to be exclusive. The anti-trust laws of the United States are intended to prevent any kind of combination in the United States which shall be exclusive of new enterprises within the United States, any combination which shall set up monopoly in America; but the export business is a very big business, a very complicated business, a very expensive business, and it ought to be possible, and it will be possible and legal, for men engaged

in exporting to get together and manage it in groups, so that they can manage it at an advantage instead of at a disadvantage as compared with foreign rivals—not for the purpose of exclusive and monopolistic combination, but for the purpose of co-operation, and there is a very wide difference there. I for myself despise monopoly, and I have an enthusiasm for co-operation. By co-operation I mean working along with anybody who is willing to work along with you under definite understandings and arrangements which will constitute a sound business program. There can be no jealousy of that, and if there had been time, I can say with confidence that this bill, which passed the House of Representatives, would have passed the Senate of the United States also. So that any obstacle that ingenious lawyers may find in the anti-trust laws will be removed.

I was a lawyer once myself, before I reformed; I can divide a hair 'twixt north and northeast side, but I do not think it is worth while, and I do not think that statutes are the places for ingenuity. A statute is intended to lay down a broad and comprehensive and national policy, and it ought to be read in that light. But there would be no fun in punctuation if you had to read it that way! The purpose of legislation in the immediate future in this country is going to be to remove all ingenious constructions and to make it perfectly clear what the liberties as well as the restraints of trade are in this country.

And then there must be co-operation, not only between the Government and the business men, but between business men. Shippers must coöperate, and they ought to be studying right now how to coöperate. There are a great many gentlemen in other countries who can show them how! They ought to look forward, particularly, to caring for this matter, that they have vehicles in which to carry their goods. We must address ourselves immediately and as rapidly as possible to the re-creation of a great American merchant marine. Our present

situation is very like this: Suppose that a man who had a great department store did not have any delivery wagons and depended upon his competitors in the same market to deliver his goods to his customers. You know what would happen. They would deliver their own goods first and quickest, and they would deliver yours only if yours were to be delivered upon the routes followed by their wagons. That is an exact picture of what is taking place in our foreign trade at this minute. Foreign vessels carry our goods where they, the foreign vessels, happen to be going, and they carry them only if they have room in addition to what they are carrying for other people. You can not conduct trade that way. That is conducting trade on sufferance. That is conducting trade on an "if you please." That is conducting trade on the basis of service the point of view of which is not your advantage. Therefore, we can not lose any time in getting delivery wagons.

There has been a good deal of discussion about this recently, and it has been said, "The Government must not take any direct part in this. You must let private capital do it," and the reply was, "All right, go ahead." "Oh, but we will not go ahead unless you help us." We said, "Very well, then, we will go ahead, but we will not need your help, because we do not want to compete where you are already doing the carrying business, but where you are not doing the carrying business and it has to be done for some time at a loss. We will undertake to do it at a loss until that route is established, and we will give place to private capital whenever private capital is ready to take the place." That sounds like a very reasonable proposition. "We will carry your goods one way when we have to come back empty the other way and lose money on the voyage, and when there are cargoes both ways and it is profitable to carry them, we shall not insist upon carrying them any longer."

And it is absolutely necessary now to make good

our new connections. Our new connections are with the great and rich Republics to the south of us. For the first time in my recollection they are beginning to trust and believe in us and want us, and one of my chief concerns has been to see that nothing was done that did not show friendship and good faith on our part. You know that it used to be the case that if you wanted to travel comfortably in your own person from New York to a South American port, you had to go by way of England or else stow yourself away in some uncomfortable fashion in a ship that took almost as long to go straight, and within whose bowels you got in such a temper before you got there that you did not care whether she got there or not. The great interesting geographical fact to me is that by the opening of the Panama Canal there is a straight line south from New York through the canal to the western coast of South America, which hitherto has been one of the most remote coasts in the world so far as we were concerned. The west coast of South America is now nearer to us than the eastern coast of South America ever was, though we have the open Atlantic upon which to approach the east coast. Here is the loom all ready upon which to spread the threads which can be worked into a fabric of friendship and wealth such as we have never known before! The real wealth of foreign relationships, my fellow citizens, whether they be the relationships of trade or any other kind of intercourse, the real wealth of those relationships is the wealth of mutual confidence and understanding. If we do not understand them and they do not understand us, we cannot trade with them, much less be their friends, and it is only by weaving these intimate threads of connection that we shall be able to establish that fundamental thing, that psychological, spiritual nexus which is, after all, the real warp and woof of trade itself. We have got to have the knowledge, we have got to have the co-operation, and then back of all that has got to lie

what America has in abundance and only has to release, that is to say, the self-reliant enterprise.

There is only one thing I have ever been ashamed of in America, and that was the timidity and fearfulness of Americans in the presence of foreign competitors. I have dwelt among Americans all my life and am an intense absorbent of the atmosphere of America, and I know by personal experience that there are as effective brains in America as anywhere in the world. An American afraid to pit American business men against any competitors anywhere! Enterprise, the shrewdness which Americans have shown, the knowledge of business which they have shown, all these things are going to make for that peaceful and honorable conquest of foreign markets which is our reasonable ambition.

I spoke a moment ago of the Federal Trade Commission. In conference with various business associations, members of that commission have made this astonishing discovery, that, in some fields of manufacture, at any rate, not 10 per cent. of the producers of America keep accurate cost accounts. They do not know how much each part of their operation costs them. They have not analyzed their business in such a way as to know where economy can be substituted for waste, or where efficiency can take the place of inefficiency, and one of the things that is going to happen, now that we are going to be up against the expert cost accountants of the world, is that we are going to become first-class economists and that American labor, already distinguished for its efficiency, is going to double and treble that efficiency. When that takes place and this great stimulating air of the world's competitive brains has wrought its effects upon us, we are going to be, I hope, what the world has never seen yet, a body of men who do not want to prevail by the backing of their Government but by the backing of their skill and knowledge.

A friend of mine was once invited to attend a peace meeting. He said he would come with pleasure if he

might be permitted to explain that most of the men sitting on the platform were engaged in fomenting war, and when he was asked to explain this pleasing meaning he said: "I have looked over the list of the men who constitute your Executive Committee, and almost every one of them is engaged in doing things to excite the hostility and disturb the national feeling of men in foreign countries, particularly in the Orient, which will inevitably lead to war sooner or later."

The competitions of the modern world that are lasting are not the competitions of physical force. They are the competitions of intellectual force. The competitions of business either lay the foundations of respect and mutual confidence or the foundations of suspicion and mutual hostility.

America has stood in the years past for that sort of political understanding among men which would let every man feel that his rights were the same as those of another and as good as those of another, and the mission of America in the field of the world's commerce is to be the same: that when an American comes into that competition he comes without any arms that would enable him to conquer by force, but only with those peaceful influences of intelligence, a desire to serve, a knowledge of what he is about, before which everything softens and yields, and renders itself subject. That is the mission of America, and my interest, so far as my small part in American affairs is concerned, is to lend every bit of intelligence I have to this interesting, this vital, this all-important matter of releasing the intelligence of America for the service of mankind.

IS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY REPUBLICAN?

SPEECH AT SHADOW LAWN, BEFORE THE YOUNG MEN'S DEMOCRATIC CLUBS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1916. FROM THE NEW YORK "TIMES," OCTOBER 1, 1916.

I AM very much obliged to you for giving me an opportunity to say some very plain things about the present campaign and about the future policy of this country, because a body of young men are very much more interested in the future than they are in the present. While some of us who are older look back upon long experience and are able to take certain measurements which may not have occurred to you, nevertheless your feeling is that the world lies in front of you and not behind you. You want to know what sort of world it is going to be and what sort of guidance you are going to have in that world and what sort of co-operation among you will be effective for the service of the world into which the years ahead of you will bring you.

I do not know where from Republican quarters you have got any suggestions as to what is going to happen in the years to come. This is a most singular campaign. I will not say an unprecedented campaign, because I happen to remember that other parties have tried to get into power by saying nothing whatever; and I also remember with interest that they never succeeded, because the people of the United States are an inquisitive people, and if you ask them to intrust you with the great power of their Government they really want to know what you are going to do with that Government if they intrust you with it. They may not insist upon your telling them what you would have done in circumstances now passed and gone, but they will

insist upon your telling them what you intend to do in the future.

For a little while I myself expected that this campaign would be an interesting, intellectual contest, that on both sides men would draw upon some of the essential questions of politics in order to determine the predominance of parties, but I am sorry to say that I have found nothing to interest me, and I am a little bit ashamed of myself that I should have expected it, for I should have known better. There is a fact running through all our political history of which I ought to have reminded myself. The Democratic party, my fellow-citizens, is the only party whose life has persisted and whose vigor has continued throughout all the history of this nation, and that has not happened by accident. It has happened because it is the only party, I venture to say, all of whose life has been governed, or at any rate inspired, by a definite principle, an absolute belief in the control of the people, their right to control, their capacity to control their own affairs and shape them in the common interest.

The Democratic party has committed many errors, the Democratic party has made some fatal mistakes of action, but the reason it has lived, the reason it is the only party that has apparent immortality in our politics is that it is the only party that has consistently based its beliefs upon the things and the convictions that underlie all American history, the belief in the government of the people by themselves and their own representatives. It has witnessed the life and death of two great parties, and unless I am very much mistaken it will witness the early death of another.

It witnessed the life, decadence, and disappearance of the Federalist party. It witnessed the life, the increase, the demoralization, the decline, and the disappearance of the Whig party. And then there appeared upon the scene the Republican party, first of all organized for a great and definite purpose, to pre-

vent the spread of the institution of slavery into the free portions of the United States. That object they greatly accomplished. And then there seemed to descend upon them the spirit of the Federalist and the Whig parties, and ever since then the increasing demoralization of that party has been evident.

What was the spirit of those parties was one of the limited control of the affairs of the nation by those who had the biggest material stake in the prosperity of the country. Some of them professed this very openly and some of them practiced it without professing it. The theory of Alexander Hamilton, who founded the Federalist party, was that the best kind of government is the government by guardians and trustees, and that only those who represent the great material enterprises of the country are capable of acting as trustees and guardians. So that throughout the period when the Federalist party was in control the whole idea was that a small group of carefully planning men should govern opinion and control administrative action in the United States.

The Whig party, when it arose, had a somewhat more liberal conception, but before it had lasted very long it acted upon exactly the same principle, that the great body of the people is not capable of doing its own thinking, and that a small group of persons must be allowed to do its thinking for it, and the Republican party has inherited that idea. Not the idea of government by the people, but of government for the people, and control of the people by those who govern it. It was a foregone conclusion that parties that held such principles could not live in America. The only reason they existed for a short time was that they did rally to their support some of the fine planning, enterprising minds of the country, and that so long as those men had the vision of the general good, so long as those men had the conscience of public service, great things were conceived and great things were done; but just so

soon as they put in possession of the Government men who were attorneys of special interests the decadence of the party inevitably ensued. The Republican party as now constituted and led believes in government by the attorneys of special interests. They are perfectly willing that the attorneys of the people should appear before them and plead for the rights of the people, but they are not willing that the counsels which determine action shall be participated in by the attorneys of the people.

One of the things that they are most constantly talking about is the protective tariff, and there was a time when a very wide taking of counsel entered into the formation of our tariffs, but not toward the end. Then a small group of selected counselors always determined what the items of the tariff should be. The only persons heard were the attorneys for the special interests, and the attorneys of the people could batter at the doors as they pleased and never get a hearing. The end of such a party was foredoomed, and now the party that believes in the people and tries to do things for the people has been in power for four years, and what has happened? It has redeemed some of the promises falsely made by the attorneys for the special interests. And it has done something more interesting than that.

You remember that four years ago there was a great body of spirited Republicans who said, "This thing is becoming a fraud and a sham. We have been taking care of some people, but we have not been taking care of the great body of people. We have not thought about their morals, we have not thought about their health, we have not thought about their rights as human beings, and we insist that you put the policy of this party in our hands, or we will go off and form a party of our own," and thereupon the great Progressive party sprang up—great, not because it turned out to be more numerous than the party from which it had seceded,

though it did that, but because it had the real red blood of human sympathy in its veins and was ready to work for mankind and forget the interests of a narrow party. I want to pay my tribute of respect to the purposes and intentions of the men who formed that group in our politics.

But the interesting thing is that, inasmuch as they did not get the opportunity, we took advantage of our opportunity to do the things that they wanted to do. And I want you young fellows to understand the reason for that. There are standpatters in the Democratic party. There are men sitting down hard on the breeching strap. There are men who are trying to hold back and serve what they believe to be conservatism, though it is really reaction, but the interesting thing about the Democratic party is that those men are in a small minority in its ranks, whereas in the party of the opposition they are in a majority and are in control. The interesting thing for all politicians to remember is that the progressive voters of this country all put together outnumber either party. I venture to say they outnumber both parties put together. This country is progressive, and if you youngsters are going to be in the running, you will throw in your fortunes with the party of which the progressives have the control.

I am a progressive. I do not spell it with a capital P, but I think my pace is just as fast as those who do. It does not interfere with the running and I am very much astonished to see the company that some gentlemen who spell their name with a capital are keeping. They are engaged in the interesting enterprise of trying to capture a party which is fortified against them and refusing to enter a party which is already captured by those who believe in their principles. The intellectual processes by which they arrive at their conclusions are entirely obscured to my intelligence.

But you will notice that a party that merely wants

control does not have to have any principles. That is the reason why surprise that a program has not been announced is unreasonable. Look over the ranks of the supporters of the Republican party. Did you ever see a more motley company in your life? Did you ever see elements so absolutely contradictory of each other as the elements of that party? If they moved in any direction they would have to move in many directions; and if I am trying to get into power by the support of the people that do not agree with one another, it is very dangerous for me to profess my own opinion.

Back of that party are those who inject into our politics the politics of Europe; but not all who have that purpose in mind are on the same side. Some want to inject those politics in order to move in one direction, and others want to inject them in order to move in exactly the opposite direction. In these circumstances it is not wise to announce your direction. Some of them are Progressives, or were, and profess themselves dissatisfied with the present leadership and guidance of the party, and others are so well satisfied with it that they are afraid that the entrance of this new element will disturb their favorite plans, and so, looking at each other with suspicion, they have only one enthusiasm, and that is the enthusiasm to "get in." I see in my mind's eye this great motley company enthusiastically united in a great drive for possession.

Unfortunately, however, one thing has become reasonably clear, my fellow-citizens, and it is a very serious thing indeed. One thing has become evident, not because it was explicitly stated, for nothing has been explicitly stated, but because it is unmistakably implicit in almost everything that has been said. Am I not right that we must draw the conclusion that if the Republican party is put into power at the next election our foreign policy will be radically changed? I cannot draw any other inference. All our present foreign policy is wrong, they say, and if it is wrong and they

are men of conscience, they must change it. And if they are going to change it, in what direction are they going to change it?

There is only one choice as against peace and that is war. Some of the supporters of that party, a very great body of the supporters of that party, outspokenly declare that they want war, so that the certain prospect of the success of the Republican Party is that we shall be drawn in one form or another into the embroilments of the European war, and that to the south of us the force of the United States will be used to produce in Mexico the kind of law and order which some American investors in Mexico consider most to their advantage. I do not find that anybody else's counsel is taken in respect of the policy that this country should pursue with regard to Mexico except those who have hitherto acted as counselors for the vested interests in Mexico. The whole country is acquainted with the gentlemen who have been consulted. There is no concealment even by themselves whose attorneys they are. They have talked to me. I knew exactly what they wanted. I have declined to give it to them, and now they are going where they think that they can get it. And there is every reason, on the surface at any rate, that their calculation is well founded.

There is a more serious aspect even than that. There is an immediate result of this thing, my fellow-citizens. From this time until the 7th of November it is going to be practically impossible for the present Administration to handle any critical matter concerning our foreign relations, because all foreign statesmen are waiting to see which way the election goes, and in the meantime they know that settlements will be inconclusive.

The conference which is being held with regard to Mexican affairs is being embarrassed every day by the apparent evidence which is being produced that hostility to Mexico is being traded upon by one of the great political parties. These gentlemen may reconcile these

influences with patriotic purpose, but it is difficult for all of us to do so. And the one thing I want to lay emphasis upon in this connection is this: that a great fundamental, final choice with regard to our foreign relationships is to be made on the 7th of November. Some young men ought to be interested in that. Men who love to see a great peaceful force expended by America for the service of the world ought to be interested in that.

Singular, isn't it, that should have been the only thing disclosed by the opposition? But I suspect that they are well enough content with many of the things that have been done in domestic legislation, provided they can get in and control them. Let me illustrate it. Take the Federal Reserve system, the great banking system by which the credits of this country were hitherto locked up—the credits of the average man have been released and put into action; the great system which has made it possible for us to absorb two thousand millions worth of American securities held on the other side of the water, which have been offered for sale; nearly, if not quite, 50 per cent. of the whole body of American securities held abroad, a thing that would have been impossible otherwise.

You know that one of the many things that the Republicans promised and never did was to reform the currency system. They did what they have always done in such circumstances. They had a thorough inquiry and report made without any purpose of following it up. The report was made after long and expensive inquiry and much interesting travel, by a committee presided over by the late Senator Aldrich, and that report is a very valuable document. It is full of a great deal of useful information, along with a great deal of useless information. I dare say that in any report the useless predominates over the useful, but if you know what you are looking for you can find it in that report. And when we came to do this thing

that ought to have been done long ago, but which because of a kind of paralysis which cannot be called infantile, it was impossible for the Republican Party to do, (I should call it a paralysis of the will,) we found that we could take the skeleton of what we wanted to do from the Aldrich report, but that we could not take the heart of it.

We so absolutely altered the heart that Senator Aldrich himself denounced the thing that we produced. Now the heart of the Aldrich plan was a single central bank which was susceptible of being controlled by the very men who have always declared the financial policy of the Republican party, whereas the heart of our system is not a great central bank, but a body appointed by and responsible to the Government, and, by the same token, responsible to the people of the United States. The hand is the hand of Esau, but the heart is the heart of Jacob, and that heart is the heart of the Democratic party, the control by representatives of the people of the things that concern the whole people.

There was universal hostility among the bankers of this country, not unanimous, but universal, to the adoption of the present system, and all of that opposition had its impulse from that central group which knew that was going to happen which did happen, that they were going to lose their grip on the Treasury of the United States. They are perfectly content, my fellow-citizens, to take over the Federal Reserve system if they can adjust it the way they want it adjusted and determine who is going to run it. Similarly, they are perfectly content to use the Federal Trade Commission provided they can select the Commissioners and suggest whom they shall consult.

They are perfectly willing to have a tariff board, at least they were willing to have it before we created it, provided they can determine beforehand what its conclusions are going to be by determining the quality and antecedents of the men who compose it. You can very

easily determine beforehand what is going to happen. For example, if you want certain things to happen, select the most eminent, it may be the most honest corporation lawyer in the country, and put him in the Supreme Court. His character is not going to fail you. He may have as good a character as any man who ever lived, but his training is going to determine everything that he sees. You do not have to do these things corruptly; you only have to do them astutely.

Similarly, they would be perfectly content to control the board which is to govern the rural credit system. They would be perfectly willing to appoint the board that is to control the development of the merchant marine and the regulation of marine charges in the carriage of freight on the high seas, perfectly willing. The only thing that makes them uneasy is that Democrats should be running these things.

I am not saying this in jest. I am not saying it to make a point. I am saying it out of my personal experience. Until the present Administration, Wall Street controlled the actions of the Treasury of the United States. I do not like these words, "Wall Street." Because there are some men in Wall Street who have vision, there are some men who see things large and see them true, there are some men with fine statesmanlike gifts, and I do not like to include them, but the main impulse in Wall Street is not given to it by them. When I say "Wall Street" I mean some parts of Wall Street, and I leave you to select the parts. Wall Street thus selected formerly controlled the Treasury of the United States. Why, my fellow-citizens, it even had a desk in the Treasury Department.

Many of these gentlemen believe that only they understand the interests of the country, and they were genuinely uneasy to see the Treasury conducted without their consent. Again and again I have received intimations from these quarters during the last three and a half years that they would very much like to be con-

sulted, and I have invariably returned the same answer. I have said, if these gentlemen have any advice to give, I shall be most pleased to receive it. All they have to do is to ask to see me and tell me in the frankest way, like any other American citizen, what they think ought to be done. But they would not accept that kind of an invitation. They wanted to be sent for, and they wanted to be reasonably certain before they went that their advice would be taken. They did not want to come in on the same terms with other citizens of the United States offering their advice as to what ought to be done.

It has been interesting, and it has been very amusing, that any set of men should think that they had the absolute by the wool, that they knew what the interests of the country demanded and nobody else did. So that since they would not volunteer to come, we have made shift to conduct the Treasury of the United States without their assistance. And it must surprise them in their private thoughts to have to admit that it has been better conducted than ever before in our generation—more successfully as business administration and infinitely more helpfully to the general body of the American people. Such assistance as the Treasury of the United States can legitimately extend in times of financial stress used always to be extended to Wall Street. Now it is extended to the country.

It was no doubt shocking to see the money deposited in country banks and not in Wall Street, but the country banks knew how to use it, and they were very much nearer the great masses of the people who need it than were the great depositaries of financial resources in New York. I would not have you consider me prejudiced against New York City. Why, gentlemen, the great City of New York is one of the most vital parts of the United States, but the City of New York does not consist of the gentlemen in Wall Street. And I would have you understand that I am very much preju-

diced against them, as they are against me. No, not prejudiced, but aware.

They have suffered another inconvenience. They used to be able to do a great deal in the way of legislation by means of a lobby the people knew very little about, and the lobby, thank God, has disappeared. I do not mean the legitimate lobby, the lobby that will go to hearings of committees and argue their case in public with the reporters present, but I mean the button-holing lobby; I mean the lobby that uses influence and not argument, that uses inducement, and not the fact, that understands some special interests and does not give a cent for the general interest. That is the lobby I mean, and the little cowards scuttled the minute they were mentioned. I had only to say in a casual interview with the representatives of the press that there was such a lobby when all at once the rats began to scuttle.

So the instrumentalities of control have been destroyed, and the object of the present campaign on one side is to rehabilitate them. Why do I say that, because I see, not more than you do? You see who are controlling the present campaign on the Republican side. There is no concealment about that. Two years ago the Republicans fancied that there was a reaction against the Democratic party, because it had been going some, I admit.

And so in the campaign for the Congressional election two years ago some of their most distinguished leaders spoke very indiscreetly. They said that what this country needed was a business administration, which from one point of view we might have concurred in if they had not added this definition that what the country wanted was to return to the "Good old days of Mark Hanna." Further definition was unnecessary. The good old days of Mark Hanna. No thoughtful man in this country would propose that we should return to the methods of political control practiced by Senator Hanna.

It happened that at that time a very lovely, trustworthy gentleman was President of the United States. I mean William McKinley. He had no part discreditable to himself, so far as I know, in the political arrangements and the expenditure of unlimited money in campaigns for which Senator Hanna was responsible. But now you will notice we have returned to the good old days of Mark Hanna in the Republican party. Some of the very gentlemen who were prominent in that odious régime are now at the head of affairs in the management of the Republican campaign. The lieutenants of Mark Hanna have returned to authority, and the lieutenants of Mark Hanna represent the choices, the determinations and, so much as we can conjecture, the policy of the Republican party. What they want to do is to get control and then determine the policy in private conference. We are not going to be taken into their confidence.

It would not be wise for them to take us into their confidence. They want to control, possess. Those are the magic words for them. They do not think we have sense enough. They do not think we have coherence enough. They do not think a great body of free people knows how to hang together in its own cause, and that a little body of men that always hangs together can in the long run manage the people, and it is up to us to show them that this is impossible. The people of the United States have frequently been fooled, but they are not often fooled several times in the same way, and this barefaced attempt to fool them in the same old way is, in my judgment, one of the most futile things that was ever attempted.

Henceforth, understand that so far as I am concerned, I will excuse these gentlemen from answering questions, because I know they cannot answer them; that if they answered them, they would lose half of their following on any particular subject and the confidence of the people of the United States all together.

Therefore, I for my part do not intend to ask them any questions. I have other uses for my mind, because I am on to the game already.

What it is our imperative duty to do, my fellow-citizens, is to make everybody we know understand what the Democratic party stands for and what it intends to do. It has begun a great process of liberalization for the business of this country, and it intends to strengthen that system at every point, extend it wherever it needs extension, strengthen and fortify it against all attacks and once for all make good the domination of the American people in their own affairs. On that program we are challengers to all comers. We have shown our hand. It cannot be doubted. All you have got to do, if you want to know the lines of the future policy of the Democratic party is to extend the lines of the past policy of the Democratic party and you have an absolute standard. You know which way we are going. The question is do you want to head us off, and it is for the young men of the country in particular.

I do not know, for my part, how the spirit of a nation gets into one generation after another, but I do know by long contact with young men that the spirit of a nation is perhaps more intense in the generations coming on than in the more sophisticated generations that have become deeply immersed in particular lines of business. The point of view of the young man is of the horizon. He looks abroad upon a wide world because he is choosing his path. He looks curiously upon many of the aspects of human affairs, because he hopes and intends to play a part of importance in some of them. And so the young men have the impulse, the momentum, the whole vision of the people more intensely in them than in the older men who have grown a little tired, some of them grown a little pessimistic, some of them grown a little discouraged, some of them have had many hard knocks and have suffered many disappointments, but who yet, nevertheless with stubborn courage and

steadfast strength are themselves struggling toward the light. And they are calling to the young man, "Come, recruit our ranks. Some of us are falling by the way. We need your force. We need your hope. We need your confidence. We need your capacity to get together and stay together and follow and lead. Come, strengthen the great army of men who have their eyes lifted to those horizons where shines the light of hope for men of every nation and of every generation, where rests the reassurance of the world's peace and the world's happiness."

THE MEXICAN PROBLEM AGAIN: AN INTERVIEW

FROM THE "LADIES' HOME JOURNAL," OCTOBER, 1916.

LARGE questions are difficult to state in brief compass, but they can be intelligently comprehended only when fully stated, and must to all candid persons seem worthy of the pains. The Mexican question has never anywhere been fully stated, so far as I know, and yet it is one which is in need of all the light that can be thrown upon it, and can be intelligently discussed only by those who clearly see all that is involved.

In the first place, it is not a question which can be treated by itself as only a matter between Mexico and the United States. It is a part, a very intimate part, of the Pan-American question. The two Americas can be knitted together only by process of peace, friendship, helpfulness, and good will, and the nation which must of necessity take the initiative in proving the possibility of these processes is the United States.

A discussion of the Pan-American question must always begin with the Monroe Doctrine, and very little light will be thrown upon it unless we consider the Monroe Doctrine from the point of view of Latin-America rather than from the point of view of the United States.

In adopting the Monroe Doctrine the United States assumed the part of Big Brother to the rest of America. The primary purpose of the policy was to prevent the extension to the American Hemisphere of European influences, which seemed likely to involve South America and eventually ourselves as well in the net of European intrigue and reaction which was in that day being spread with so wide a sweep of purpose. But it was not adopted at the request of the American Republics.

While it no doubt made them measurably free from the fear of European aggression or intervention in their affairs, it neither gave nor implied any guarantee on the part of the United States that we would use our power for their benefit and not for our own aggrandizement and advantage.

As the power of the United States has increased, the uneasiness of the Latin-American republics has increased with regard to the use we might make of that power in dealing with them.

Unfortunately we gave one very disquieting example of what we might do when we went to war with Mexico in Mr. Polk's time and got out of that war a great addition to our national territory.

The suspicion of our southern neighbors, their uneasiness as to our growing power, their jealousy that we should assume to play Big Brother to them without their invitation to do so, has constantly stood in the way of the amicable and happy relations we wished to establish with them. Only in very recent years have they extended their hands to us with anything like cordiality, and it is not likely that we shall ever have their entire confidence until we have succeeded in giving them satisfactory and conclusive proofs of our own friendly and unselfish purpose.

What is needed for the firm establishment of their faith in us is that we should give guaranties of some sort, in conduct as well as in promise, that we will as scrupulously respect their territorial integrity and their political sovereignty as we insist that European nations should respect them.

If we should intervene in Mexico, we should undoubtedly revive the gravest suspicions throughout all the states of America. By intervention I mean the use of the power of the United States to establish internal order there without the invitation of Mexico and determine the character and method of her political institutions. We have professed to believe that every nation,

every people, has the right to order its own institutions as it will, and we must live up to that profession in our actions in absolute good faith.

Moreover, "order" has been purchased in Mexico at a terrible cost when it has been obtained by foreign assistance. The foreign assistance has generally come in the form of financial aid. The financial aid has almost invariably been conditioned upon "concessions" which have put the greater part of the resources of the country which have as yet been developed in the hands of foreign capitalists, and by the same token under the "protection" of foreign governments.

Those who have successfully mantained stable order in Mexico by such means have, like Diaz, found that they were the servants, not of Mexico, but of foreign *concessionaires*.

The economic development of Mexico has so far been accomplished by such "concessions" and by the exploitation of the fertile lands of the republic by a very small number of owners who have accumulated under one title hundreds of thousands of acres, swept within one ownership the greater part of the states, and reduced the population of the country to a sort of peonage.

Mexico is one of the treasure houses of the world. It is exceedingly to be desired by those who wish to amass fortunes. Its resources are indeed serviceable to the whole world and are needed by the industries of the whole world. No enterprising capitalist can look upon her without coveting her. The foreign diplomacy with which she has become bitterly familiar is the "dollar diplomacy," which has almost invariably obliged her to give precedence to foreign interests over her own. What she needs more than anything else is financial support which will not involve the sale of her liberties and the enslavement of her people.

Property owned by foreigners, enterprises conducted by foreigners, will never be safe in Mexico so long as their existence and the methods of their use and con-

duct excite the suspicion and, upon occasion, the hatred of the people of the country itself.

I would not be understood as saying that all or even the majority of the foreigners who have owned property in Mexico or who have developed her extraordinary resources have acted in a way to excite the jealousy or deserve the dislike of the people of the country. It is fortunately true that there have been a great many who acted with the same honor and public spirit there that characterized them at home, and whose wish it has never been to exploit the country to its own hurt and detriment.

I am speaking of a system and not uttering an indictment. The system by which Mexico has been financially assisted has in the past generally bound her hand and foot and left her in effect without a free government. It has almost in every instance deprived her people of the part they were entitled to play in the determination of their own destiny and development.

This is what every leader in Mexico has to fear, and the history of Mexico's dealings with the United States cannot be said to be reassuring.

It goes without saying that the United States must do as she is doing—she must insist upon the safety of her borders; she must, so fast as order is worked out of chaos, use every instrumentality she can in friendship employ to protect the lives and the property of her citizens in Mexico.

But she can establish permanent peace on her borders only by a resolute and consistent adoption in action of the principles which underlie her own life. She must respect the liberties and self-government of Mexicans as she would respect her own. She has professed to be the champion of the rights of small and helpless states, and she must make the profession good in what she does. She has professed to be the friend of Mexico, and she must prove it by seeing to it that every step she takes is a step of friendship and helpfulness.

Our own principles and the peace of the world are conditioned upon the exemplification of those professions in action by ourselves and by all the nations of the world, and our dealings with Mexico afford us an opportunity to show the way.

Mexico must no doubt struggle through long processes of blood and terror before she finds herself and returns to the paths of peace and order; but other nations, older in political experience than she, have staggered and struggled through these dark ways for years together to find themselves at last, to come out into the light, to know the price of liberty, to realize the compulsion of peace, and the orderly processes of law.

It is painful to observe how few of the suggestions as to what the United States ought to do with regard to Mexico are based upon sympathy with the Mexican people or any effort even to understand what they need and desire. I can say with knowledge that most of the suggestions of action come from those who wish to possess her, who wish to use her, who regard her people with condescension and a touch of contempt, who believe that they are fit only to serve and not fit for liberty of any sort. Such men cannot and will not determine the policy of the United States. They are not of the true American breed or motive.

America will honor herself and prove the validity of her own principles by treating Mexico as she would wish Mexico to treat her.

AMERICA AND THE RIGHTS OF HUMANITY

SPEECH DELIVERED AT OMAHA, OCTOBER 5, 1916. FROM THE NEW YORK "TIMES," OCTOBER 6, 1916.

UNTIL 1890 between us and the Pacific there were empty spaces. There were lines that represented a frontier, and the process, the tidal process of American history had not ceased. But the census-takers of 1890 reported that they could not any longer draw any frontier within the United States. And since then what has been going on has not been the extensive processes that preceded, but the intensive processes, drawing their life together in some places in very hot contact, creating the heat and hurry and excitement of our cities, spreading our populations more and more over the quiet agricultural spaces, bowelling into the earth where the great mountains lifted themselves over the mineral resources of the Far West. And from that time to this America has taken on a new aspect.

It is not by accident, I take it, my fellow-citizens, that only eight years elapsed before we got into the politics of the world. It was in 1898, you remember, that the Spanish war came. It was as if America in some rough-and-ready sort completed this international process and now looked with pity upon other peoples near at hand less fortunate than themselves; looked with pity upon the conditions of men struggling for some kind and part of the light of liberty in the neighboring island of Cuba; interested themselves in affairs which heretofore they had taken no heed of.

And then the Spanish War startled us by its consequences. We had, as it were, touched a house of cards, and it had collapsed, and when the war was over we found the guardianship of Cuba, the possession of Porto

Rico, the possession of the Philippines in our hands. And that frontier which no man could draw upon this continent in 1890 had been flung across the sea 7,000 miles to the untrodden forests of some part of the Philippine Islands. Ever since then we have been caught inevitably in the net of the politics of the world.

So that what I want to present to you tonight, my friends, is the picture, so far as I can, of your present and future day as Americans. It is not an easy thing to do. No man can speak with confidence upon so great a theme as that. You can only see here and there an obvious aspect of it, but it is very important that we should realize that the things that used to go on in Nebraska have to go on in a new way for a new purpose. Nebraska was once, as I have phrased it, the melting pot in which the various elements of America were fused together for the purpose of American life. Now it is our great duty to fuse the elements of America together for the purpose of the life of the world.

It would be reasonable to expect that some of the intensity of that process would center in communities like this—inevitably because of geographical reasons, if for no other. These great central plains and valleys of the continent are unlike the States of either coast. On the Pacific influences are at work which constantly remind the people of that coast region of the confused and perplexed politics of the Orient. Men are aware there of what is going on in the Far East, and every breath that blows off the Pacific seems to bring them rumors of some subtle influence in politics about which they ask many questions and conjecture many answers.

On the Eastern Coast there is felt more vividly, I dare say than you feel them, the influence of the old world of Europe—not as old as the world of the Orient, but more nearly akin to us, easier to understand, more influential upon our life, because out of the peoples of Europe we ourselves were drawn. Not a single stock of Europe has failed to contribute to the variety of

America, and out of this varied stock we have to compound something that is now part of Europe and is only a part and is an intensified part of America which we love.

We had a program for America in respect to its domestic life, and we shall not forget that program, but we have never yet sufficiently formulated our program for America with regard to the part she is going to play in the world, and it is imperative that she should formulate it at once. But, in order to carry out a program, you must have a unification of spirit and purpose in America which no influence can invade.

There is no use having a program unless you have a concerted and united force behind the program, and you can reverse the proposition and say that you cannot have a program until you have got a unified force, because only such a force can conceive a self-consistent program.

In making that program what are we to say to ourselves? And what are we to say to the world? It is very important that the statesmen of other parts of the world should understand America. America has held off from the present conflict with which the rest of the world is ablaze, not because she was not interested, not because she was indifferent, but because the part she wanted to play was a different part from that.

The singularity of the present war is that its origin and objects never have been disclosed. They have obscure European roots, which we do not know how to trace. So great a conflagration could not have broken out if the tinder had not been there, and the spark in danger of falling at any time. We were not the tinder. The spark did not come from us. It will take the long inquiry of history to explain this war.

But Europe ought not to misunderstand us. We are holding off, not because we do not feel concerned, but because when we exert the force of this Nation we want to know what we are exerting it for. You know that

we have always remembered and revered the advice of the great Washington, who advised us to avoid foreign entanglements. By that I understand him to mean avoid being entangled in the ambitions and the national purposes of other nations.

It does not mean—if I may be permitted to venture an interpretation of the meaning of that great man—that we are to avoid the entanglements of the world, for we are part of the world, and nothing that concerns the whole world can be indifferent to us. We want always to hold the force of America to fight for what? Not merely for the rights of property or of national ambition, but for the rights of mankind.

Nothing that concerns humanity, nothing that concerns the essential rights of mankind can be foreign or indifferent to us. But in fighting for these things, my fellow-citizens, we ought to have a touchstone. We want to have a test. We ought to know, whenever we act, what the purpose is, what the ultimate goal is.

Now, the touchstone is this: On our own part absolute singleness of heart and purpose in our allegiance to America, and then a justification of that allegiance to America by holding the doctrine that is truly American, that the States of America were set up to vindicate the rights of man and not the rights of property or the rights of self-aggrandizement and aggression. Property we have found to be the indispensable foundation of stable institutions, but the rights of humanity are the essence of free institutions, and nothing can take precedence of them.

So that when we look forward to the years to come—I wish I could say the months to come—to the end of this war, we want all the world to know that we are ready to lend our force without stint to the preservation of peace in the interest of mankind. The world is no longer divided into little circles of interest. The world no longer consists of neighborhoods. The world is linked together in a common life and interest such

as humanity never saw before, and the starting of wars can never again be a private and individual matter for the nations.

What disturbs the life of the whole world is the concern of the whole world, and it is our duty to lend the full force of this nation, moral and physical, to a league of nations which shall see to it that nobody disturbs the peace of the world without submitting his case first to the opinion of mankind.

When you are asked, "Aren't you willing to fight?" reply, yes, you are waiting for something worth fighting for; you are not looking about for petty quarrels, but you are looking about for that sort of quarrel within whose intricacies are written all the texts of the rights of man, you are looking for some cause which will elevate your spirit, not depress it, some cause in which it seems a glory to shed human blood, if it be necessary, so that all the common compacts of liberty may be sealed with the blood of free men.

Every man has to die. It is done only once, and, being a single and distinguished act, ought to be done for a single and distinguished purpose. It ought to be thrilled through with the purpose of life, so that, as a man lived and loved, so he may die, striving for the things which put all the corpuscles of his blood into shouting shape whenever great things were proposed.

You see, therefore, I think, what the thrill of suggestion in the memories of Nebraska is for me when I think of this Nation as a whole. It has been necessary for nearly four years past, my fellow-citizens, for me to think of America as a whole, not to think of any special interests, not to think of any special position, not to think of any special sympathy, merely to try to conceive in my own heart what the America that you and I love is, what it has been, and what it ought to be; and to try to guide the counsels of this nation so that men may see afterward stamped upon the conduct of that time some guiding principle, some ruling passion

of the mind, some persistent conception of what America stands for, so that along the horizon under the dark, murky clouds of doubt that have shadowed our time there may appear a gleaming, clear light of a day that is going to dawn when the liberties of mankind shall have behind them the united force and affection of all the people of the world.

THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN TRADE

SPEECH DELIVERED AT OMAHA, OCTOBER 5, 1916. FROM THE NEW YORK "TIMES," OCTOBER 6, 1916.

ONE of the pleasures of coming into Western country is that so many things get started here, so many things by way of energy and initiative originate here. There was an advantage in those old days when there were no railroads. You were not then under the paternal oversight of the East. Small groups of gentlemen who considered themselves able to comprehend more than the Almighty has permitted any man to comprehend were not then endeavoring to run your affairs along with their own. And the railroads perhaps have not done you as great a spiritual service as they have material service. They have kept you in communications which you did not stand in need of, for you knew how to take care of yourselves.

I have thought very often how useful it was sometimes to make new beginnings, to break old connections and long-standing traditions in order to meet the new conditions and new circumstances and new times. I have been a student of history all my life, but I have noticed that the movements of history occur when the shackles of the past are shaken off; that if you wish to be delayed in your development you will always be going with your head over your shoulder, reminding yourselves of how the thing was done, and hampering yourselves with methods which ought long ago to have been shaken off.

There are many circumstances that make one feel that the present state of the world is beyond measure tragical. And yet, my fellow-countrymen, I believe that this great catastrophe which has fallen upon the world in the shape of war is going to do us in America,

at any rate, a great service. It is going to oblige every man to know that he lives in a new age, and that he has got to act, not according to the traditions of the past, but according to the necessities of the present and the prophecies of the future.

America up to the present time has been, as if by deliberate choice, confined and provincial, and it will be impossible for her to remain confined and provincial. Henceforth she belongs to the world and must act as part of the world, and all of the attitudes of America will henceforth be altered.

You know, what interests me as the most dramatic thing that ever happened in history was the discovery of America, not because it was the discovery of America, but because until America was discovered all eyes in Europe were turned to the East. England was then at the back of civilization. Behind her were the unknown spaces of the Atlantic. All the world lived to the eastward.

In Europe all the trade routes of the world worked their ways down toward the East. And then, all of a sudden, with the discovery of America the world was turned on its pivot, and Great Britain was at the front of the world, all the tides being shut off by the fortunate circumstances—fortunate at the time—of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. The cutting off of the eastern routes forced the world to look westward, to move westward, to set her tides in another direction, and it was then that America was born. Her birth marked a new world, with a new tide, a new direction, a new impulse, and a new future.

Ever since I was a lad I have found myself puzzled by the circumstances that America concentrated her plans so much upon herself and extended them so little to the large world. This has particularly struck me and must strike every student of our affairs in respect to our commercial policy. Only in very recent years have American merchants and American manufacturers

studied the markets of the world. They have talked, their public men have preached about their domestic markets and the sacredness of those domestic markets —apparently, the necessity of always eating our own victuals and living on those markets; and until very recently the national banking system was not supplied with the instrumentalities of handling foreign exchange. Branches of banks out of other countries, notably out of Canada, had to come down and establish themselves in New York and San Francisco and elsewhere to handle foreign exchange. Nowhere in the national banking act could you find any provision for the establishment of branch banks abroad.

With what we boasted and believed—what I believe—to be the best business genius in the world, we had not even thought of using that genius outside of our own markets. We cannot do that any longer. We have got for a certain period at any rate to finance some of the chief undertakings of the world for ourselves and for others. The resources of the world by recent processes have, as it were, been poured in upon us.

The extraordinary circumstances that for the next decade, at any rate—after that it will be a matter of our own choice whether it continues or not—but for the next decade, at any rate, we have got to serve the world. That alters every commercial question, it alters every political question, it alters every question of domestic development. The men who insist upon going on to do the old things in the old way are going to be at the tail-end of the procession.

The sign of our destiny has at last become as wide as the horizon. And the thing that we have to be careful about is that we do this thing in a new way. It has hitherto been done by those who wanted to exploit the world. It has got to be done now in a way that will deserve the confidence of the world.

American character, as well as American enterprise, is going to be put to the test. American ideals are for

the first time to be exhibited upon a world-wide scale, American purposes are going to be tested by the purposes of mankind, and not by the purposes of national ambition.

I say that it is a pity not to be young in these days. Bliss it is in these days for an American to be alive, and to be young must be very heaven, because all the destiny into whose great fruitions America has promised to lead the world is now open to be achieved under her leadership if she will see and take the way.

All of this, gentlemen, is in the abstract, but in the concrete it means a very interesting variety of things, and I want you to know that it ought not, that it does not, in my conception, make any difference who does these things, provided you see to it that they are done. But America will never forgive herself if she doesn't do them. And I want you to believe me when I say that certain things that have recently been accomplished by legislation have been accomplished with these ideals and purposes in mind.

Sometimes we deceive ourselves by thinking that the commerce of recent years has chiefly consisted in exports stimulated by the war. It will be worth your while to look into the figures. Our exports have been about in this proportion: An increase in exports during these years of some two thousand millions, expressed in dollars, and an increase of the national wealth of forty-one thousand millions—twenty times the increase of our exports.

Can an increase in our exports of two thousand millions produce so stupendous an effect as to multiply itself twenty times in our national wealth? The truth is that the world has poured its wealth upon us by the reason that we are at last waking up to the fact that the world has need of the wealth that we possess, and that, therefore, the real business of legislation is to release these forces and to see to it that impediments new or old shall not be placed in the way. That is

the reason it has been the studious endeavor of recent years to see to it that business men got rid of the belief which some of them had that the law was intended to restrain them and not intended to serve them.

Take the anti-trust laws, for example. Until very recently, I venture to say, most American business men spoke of the anti-trust laws with a curse under their breath—just as men think of shackles, just as men think of being deprived of opportunity. And we heard a great deal of talk about big business getting no sympathy; but bad business ought not to have had any sympathy, and what our laws stood in need of was the definition of what was good and what was bad. What they stood in need of was a distinct expression of the idea that was back of them.

That idea was merely this: Unfair competition is intolerable. But if the competition is fair the scale upon which it is carried on is not only of no concern to the lawmakers but the bigger the scale the more splendid the result—always provided it is conducted with fairness and honor and openness. Therefore, an attempt was very properly made to define what was fair and what was unfair competition; to provide tribunals which would distinctly determine what was fair and what was unfair competition, and to supply the business community not merely with lawyers in the Department of Justice who would cry "Stop!" but with men in such tribunals as the Federal Trade Commission who would say "Go on!" who could warn where things were going wrong, and assist instead of check.

Some of these days, gentlemen, when the great tides of business are running free in this country, you will look back upon the last three years and say "that was when the channels were dug for this great time." As compared with the verdict of the next twenty-five years, I do not care a peppercorn about the verdict of 1916, because I know how those laws were conceived. I know their purpose and I know they are already serving

their purpose, and I call you to witness that never before in your lifetime was credit so individually available in this country as at this time. Individual credit—not cornered credit—credit that could be had if you had assets and good commercial paper; credit that could be had without favor; credit to which the volume of currency would instantly respond; credit which could be sustained by resources, by gold reserves which could be mobilized anywhere in the country.

America is to be congratulated upon having achieved a business emancipation. Now it is up to you men and it is up to all business men in the United States to make something of it, and if it cannot be made something of in this part of the country, in parts of the country where, like this, men have been accustomed to taking care of themselves, have been accustomed to planting States and cities, and making communities tell with all the force of their intelligence, it cannot be done anywhere. You are less trammeled in this part of the country than business men anywhere else, and it should be your pride and your distinction that the future will realize as it never realized before the genius of American initiative.

America has been following examples so long, America has been imitating the way other people did things so long, whereas America has a store of original genius such as could accomplish any achievement that the human mind can conceive. So I, for my part, am proud to have coöperated with groups of enlightened men in seeing to it that the barriers were broken down and the road made free and the rules of the game made fair to everybody.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

SPEECH AT INDIANAPOLIS, OCTOBER 12, 1916. FROM THE NEW YORK "TIMES," OCTOBER 13, 1916.

I AM here because of my interest in the cause of good roads and because of my interest in the State of Indiana. I was very much interested that the day devoted to the cause of good roads should fall in your centennial year. It made me think of many of the processes of our national history. This country was built up without any roads.

But, after all, the highway is not intended first of all and chief of all for the pleasure vehicle. It is not intended for the mere traveler. It is not intended for the mere tourist. It is not made in order that some company of leisurely people may travel from coast to coast of this great continent. It is made because we need it in all the material uses of our life.

It is perfectly obvious that you have got to have an intricate and perfect network of roads throughout the length and breadth of this great continent before you will have released the energies of America. Good roads are necessary for every practical aspect of our lives, to draw neighborhoods together, to create community of feeling, to create those arteries which may be compared to the arteries of the human body. The blood of the Nation will not flow in harmonious concord unless it can flow in intimate sympathy.

And so the argument, the material argument, the argument about markets and crops and the products of the mines, sinks into relative unimportance when you consider the spiritual thing that you are doing in making roads. You know there is an old saying that the lines between sections are obliterated only by the feet that cross them. There is a very genial saying of a

great English writer that he never could hate a man he knew. And sectionalism is based upon the radical danger of every nation, namely, ignorance. The only thing that breeds darkness in the world is ignorance. The only thing that really blinds us is not knowing what we are talking about. The only thing that binds a nation together is the knowledge of its several parts by each other.

My fellow-citizens, I need not tell you that I did not come here to talk politics, but there is one thing that is pertinent in this connection which I can not deny myself the privilege of saying: Any man who revives the issue of sectionalism in this country is unworthy of the confidence of the Nation. He shows himself a provincial; he shows that he himself does not know the various sections of his own country; he shows that he has shut his own heart up in a little province, and that those who do not seek the special interests of that province are to him sectional, while he alone is national. That is the depth of anti-patriotic feeling.

And that is my interest in good roads, for, my fellow citizens, my present interest is chiefly in the nationalization of America. We have created a great people. At least, if I may put it so, we have brought together all the elements, all the component parts, all the necessary characters, and industries, and material resources of a great nation. And we suddenly find that we are face to face with the problem of assembling these elements in the sense in which the mechanic assembles the parts of a machine. And having assembled those elements, to put them together for the creation of one unconquerable force to which the world shall hereafter look for most of its forward impulse, for most of its ideal principles, for most of its example in the practice of liberty. And therefore the thing that I am more interested in than anything else in these days is the forces that make for drawing America together into a great spiritual unit.

Now, my fellow citizens, we have had time and op-

portunity until the present to do pretty much what we wanted in America and to do different things in different parts of America. But just so soon as this great European war is over America has got to stand for one thing and only one thing in the world, and she must be ready with united force. We can't play with the elements of our life any more.

America came into existence, my fellow citizens, not in order to show the world the most notable example it had ever had of the accumulation and use of material wealth, but in order to show the way to mankind in every part of the world to justice, and freedom, and liberty. So that the words I want you to carry in your mind in connection with this good roads cause are these: First, nationalization, getting all the fibres of this great vital people united in a single organism; second, mobilization, getting them so related to each other, so co-ordinated, so organized, so united that when they move they move as a single great irresistible conquering force.

And the third word that I want you to consider is the word that I suppose affords the key to doing these things. That word is the word co-operation. I wish that each one of us could fix in his mind the difference between the way we have been trying to do things and the way we ought to do things. We have been trying to do things by combination, by setting off one powerful group against another, by setting up groups in particular industries or spheres of our life which try to exclude all other groups by the power or by the method of their destroying competition. That is not the way to build a nation together. That is the way to build it up into warring elements.

Instead of exclusive combinations, I want to see universal co-operation. There are good signs in the air. Have you not noticed how almost every great industry, every great profession, every year holds a congress of some sort? Why, even the advertising men, who we thought were the sharpest competitors in America, have

a national association in which they co-operate. For what purpose? For the purpose of getting ahead of each other? No. For the purpose of guiding one another and setting up standards, and the chief standard they have adopted is the word "Truth." And so in profession after profession men are getting together by way of co-operation instead of by way of mutual destruction.

I hold this to be a happy omen. I see the growth in America of this conception of solidarity of the interest of each being the interest of all, and the interest of each growing out of the interest of all.

There is one field in which we are particularly sluggard in respect of this, I mean the relations between capital and labor. Nothing can be for the interest of capital that is not in the interest of labor; and nothing can be in the interest of labor which is not in the interest of capital. If men want to get rich, they must have human relationships with those who help them to get rich. That is a lesson that men have been exceedingly slow to learn, slower than any other lesson of co-operation in America. I pray God that their eyes may be opened, and that they may see that the future of this country lies in their co-operation, open, candid, cordial, and not in their antagonism, and that if they will once get together and plan in the same spirit the same things, the industry of America will go forward by leaps and bounds such as we have never yet conceived. Sometimes it is necessary in order to arrest attention to pull men up with a round turn and say, "stop! look! listen!" because presently, if you don't, the great forces of society will correct the things that have gone wrong. Society is the jury. The parties are not going to settle. The Nation is going to settle, and I am counsel for the Nation.

And so, my fellow citizens, you see how this little plant of the cause of good roads spreads into a great tree bearing upon its boughs the fruits of the savor of

life. We have got to know each other. We have got to co-operate with each other. We have got to stand together. That is all that politics is for. As a contest for office, it is contemptible, but as a combination of thoughtful men to accomplish something for the Nation, it is honorable.

If I could not be associated with a Congress that did something, I would quit. If I didn't think that making speeches contributed a little bit to the common thought, that it had nothing to do with selfish purpose, but had everything to do with combined purpose I wouldn't make any speeches. Speeches are not interesting because of the man who makes them or the words he uses. They are interesting in proportion as the people who hear believe what he says. "Talking through the hat" ought to be a dead industry. It ought to be discouraged by silence and empty halls, and every man ought to have as a motto over the stage from which he speaks these simple and familiar words, "Put up or shut up." I am ready to take my own medicine. If I don't put up, I am ready to shut up.

I want to leave a very solemn thought in your minds. America is now about to experience her rebirth. We have been making America in pieces for the sake of the pieces. Now we have got to construct her entire, for the sake of the whole and for the sake of the world, because, ladies and gentlemen, there is a task ahead for us for which we must be very soberly prepared.

I have said, and shall say again, that when the great present war is over it will be the duty of America to join with the other nations of the world in some kind of league for the maintenance of peace. Now, America was not a party to this war, and the only terms upon which we will be admitted to a league, almost all the other powerful members of which were engaged in the war and made infinite sacrifices when we apparently made none, are the only terms which we desire, namely, that America shall not stand for national aggression,

but shall stand for the just conceptions and bases of peace, for the competitions of merit alone, and for the generous rivalry of liberty.

Are we ready always to be the friends of justice, of fairness, of liberty, of peace, and of those accommodations which rest upon justice and peace? In these two trying years that have just gone by we have forborne, we have not allowed provocation to disturb our judgments, we have seen to it that America kept her poise when all the rest of the world seemed to have lost its poise.

Only upon the terms of retaining that poise and using the splendid force which always comes with poise can we hope to play the beneficial part in the history of the world which I have just now intimated. So, my fellow countrymen, build upon these new roads, in the construction of which the Federal Government is now to play so large a part, the spirit of nationality, the spirit of co-operation, the spirit of liberty, the power which only a free people knows how to exercise.

It is clearly the legitimate function, if it be not the clear duty of the Federal Government, to see that instruction in scientific agriculture is widespread as it is possible to make it; but obviously it is also its duty to see that men are trained in other vocations, in the mechanical callings, in all those great multiforms of industry which have made this country rich, and by reaction have tended to make the farmer himself rich.

In proportion as this country grows in population we can supply the rest of the world in food in smaller and smaller quantities unless we increase our production per acre, and we ought to continue to feed the world. Not merely in order that our farmers may get rich, but in order that we might acquit ourselves like men of knowledge and men of efficiency.

But not only does the Agricultural Department conduct demonstrations on the farms, but it has lately, within the last three years, undertaken to do what it

never did before, acquaint the farmer in detail with his markets, their whereabouts, their prices, the means of access to them, the methods of co-operation which ought to make access easier than it is if there is no co-operation, and has undertaken in a great bureau of markets to guide the business-like farmer in selling his crops to the greatest advantage and where they are most needed. And along with that has gone the very interesting development of the Parcel Post, whereby the more perishable kind of farm products can be rapidly shipped and distributed in moderately small quantities.

A man is happy, I take it, in proportion as he accomplishes something. Some people think they are happy in proportion as they do nothing. Some people, as a witty acquaintance of mine said, devote themselves to expense regardless of pleasure. They do not know what pleasure is. The supreme human pleasure, it seems to me, is to do something worth doing the way it ought to be done.

That is the only reason I am interested in politics. I do not regard politics as an opportunity to talk, but as an opportunity to unite with other men in accomplishing something. If I did not, I would talk about something else, because I know a good many subjects about which you can talk and the average audience will not know whether you are talking sense or not. But politics is the method of organizing the national life in the way that will do the Nation the most good, and whenever it gets off of that conception it becomes uninteresting, because it is futile, and I am not interested in futile things.

But I am intensely interested, my fellow citizens, in the politics which is going to organize this country for unparalleled efficiency in the three years to come. This country has a rôle to play in the world which does not merely consist of feeding it, does not merely consist in furnishing it with better manufactured goods than you can get anywhere else, does not merely consist in

furnishing it with coal and gold and iron and all the other priceless deposits of our wonderful continent, but it consists in supplying it with conceptions of justice and liberty which will put breath into the lungs of every free man. I am interested in the farmer because I want people well enough fed to do the job to the queen's taste.

WHAT TO DO FOR THE FARMER

SPEECH TO THREE THOUSAND FARMERS, SHADOW LAWN, OCTOBER 21, 1916. FROM THE NEW YORK "TIMES," OCTOBER 22, 1916.

THERE is such a wealth of topics upon which it would be possible, and I hope profitable, to speak in addressing the farmers that I am a little puzzled where to begin, and I am afraid that you will anticipate that I shall hardly know where to leave off.

We owe this much to our Republican predecessors, that they exercised such long and systematic neglect that it was necessary for us to undertake systematic performance. Things will not wait forever to be performed. Not only that, but circumstances will not wait upon everything that ought to be done. Some of the things must be done and done promptly.

This Administration has had the singular advantage of having a great body of national sentiment behind it, which had long stood ready to support such measures as it adopted. I do not know whether the systematic neglect to which I referred was deliberate or not. I only know that it was thoroughgoing and that an absolutely free field was left for the present Administration.

I am not going to attempt to go over in detail the things which have been attempted on behalf of the farmers of this country, or, rather, I should say, on behalf of the agriculture of this country, because, after all, it is the country we are interested in and no one set of its citizens. We are interested in agriculture not because we are more interested in the farmer than in the mine worker and the men of the factories, but because not only this Nation, but, so far as we can contribute to it, the nations of the world must be fed, and the foundation of the physical life of every nation is

found upon the farm. Therefore, it is out of the question to neglect this fundamental consideration of our life.

I would not advocate favoring the farmer, but I do advocate doing absolute and full justice to the farmer. And the farmers of this country not only have not been favored, but they have been absolutely neglected in many respects. I want, therefore, instead of enumerating the things that have been done, which I have tried to do on another occasion, to point out the object, the purpose of it all, the conception of it all, for, as your Chairman said, it is perfectly true that more has been done for the farmer in the last three and a half years than ever attempted before, partly because in some of the early generations the largess of nature was so great that it did not seem to demand national attention, but also because the attention of the country has been concentrated by the leadership of men with a special point of view.

I can illustrate the point of view by the way in which the tariff has been treated. You as farmers never were told, I take it, that you were getting the direct benefit of the tariff. You were getting it with extreme indirection, because you were getting it by having duties placed upon almost everything that you had to use, and therefore the cost of almost everything you had to use was enhanced, and you were promised hardly more than this—that if the country prospered, you would necessarily prosper with the country; but you would pay for the prosperity at a very considerable price. That was not added, but that was implied. And the whole point of view of our legislation has been this—that a special set of men who thought they could guide the Nation better than anybody else, and preferred to guide it in private, asked certain chief beneficiaries of the tariff to come together and suggest what the schedules of the tariff should be, and then to contribute the literature and the support of the orators, and also the other

instrumentalities of propaganda to make the country believe that if these men who planned the tariff were rich, the rest of the country would share their riches.

I am not impugning the motives of these men. Some of them, many of them, may have high and patriotic motives. But I am ready to impugn their intelligence. They did not know that unless a country is lifted with something like symmetrical movement, the whole mass participating in the uplift, it does not suffice to lift up and benefit certain parts of it, and that the object of legislation is not benevolently handing on the benefits. The object of the Government is not to patronize those who are less fortunate on the part of those who are more fortunate. But the object of Government is partnership, common counsel, everybody in the participation which leads to the construction of legislation. So that these gentlemen have had the idea, I have several times pointed out, that it was best for us to be in the hands of guardians. Now I, for one, have come of age some time ago, and I decline to live as a ward. I insist upon living as a grown-up individual ready to take my part in the counsels of the Nation, and to insist that I shall be considered primarily along with the rest, and not secondary.

The task of this Administration, therefore, has been to see that the farmer did not get the benefit that was handed down, but get the benefit which was directly distributed on the level upon which all citizens ought to stand. So that our chief concern has been this, that the instrumentalities, very difficult to supply, should nevertheless be supplied which were necessary to put the farmer upon the same footing as the other industrial workers of the country.

You see the men in the city can effect an easy concert of action. They are not scattered as the farmers are. They are not separated by the wide spaces of the rural county. They have a constant intercourse in all sorts of organizations which they have established for the

purpose and which it is easy for them to establish. They, therefore, can concert action in a way in which it is almost impossible for the farmer to concert it, and therefore they have come in by preference before the farmer in everything which concerns business. They have come in before him in respect of credits; they have come in before him in respect of legislation which directly benefited their undertakings; they have come in ahead of him in every matter where the sort of counsel that results in legislation could be effected.

There are about three thousand rural counties in the United States—I believe the exact number is 2,850—and these counties have that life which is so familiar to any of us and so dear to many of us. Here are the quiet spaces of the country; here in too many instances are bad roads so that in the winter intercourse between the people who live in those counties is not easy. Some of them are in the more frigid portions of the country where the snow lies heavy upon the land for many weeks together. The crop season comes only according to the dictates of nature. You cannot hasten the production, you cannot determine to have more seasons of crops than nature will permit you to have. You cannot force the pace by increasing the number of workmen and building more barns, multiply the things that are to go into the barns and to go into the markets. And, therefore, you cannot quickly realize on your assets. You have got to have money to carry you along when there is nothing coming in that will sell for money.

You have got to be accommodated by getting money from those who believe that your crops are going to mature, that they are going to be good, and that they are going to be salable. You have never before had the proper means of utilizing your real assets. There are not more real assets in the country than yours. The merchant's assets, his bills of lading, are not more valuable assets than your certain prospects of agricultural

production. Your cattle are just as good security as any other perishable commodity. You ought long ago to have had what the Federal Reserve act now gives you—the right to go to the banks and borrow money on the paper which represents what you own.

Suppose you wanted to carry the mortgage longer than five years? There comes in the Rural Credits bill, which says that these new banks, these new banking instrumentalities which are now being organized, are authorized to undertake to lend money on mortgages that will run anywhere from five to forty years, and by a moderate increase in the rate of interest of 1 per cent. enables you by a mere compounding of interest to amortize the debt, as it is called, which simply means to let it pay itself off within a period of thirty-three and one-half years.

All of that, I repeat, is simply in pursuit of this object, to see that the kind of credit the farmer was to get was the same as the kind that everybody else got, and that the farmer's assets shall be available all along the line, whether they are commercial assets or those more permanent or less easily salable assets which are represented by the land itself.

But after all, that does not meet the difficulty that I began describing, the difficulty of co-operation among farmers. And therefore more interesting still are the successful efforts that have recently been made by the Department of Agriculture to guide the farmer in his rural organization, which will bring him into co-operation, to supply him with the scientific information of the world with regard to farming, not only in written form, but in the form of demonstrations.

The recent legislation and the recent appropriations of Congress make it possible to put two demonstrators and experts in every rural county of the Union, in order that by the way of demonstration in the neighborhood itself, the scientific knowledge and experience of the world in agriculture should be carried to the farmer.

No such tremendous educational machinery was ever created before in this country.

You know some of the farmers have suffered a mortification recently. They have sent their boys to agricultural school and have had the mortification of having the boys come back and raise twice as much to the acre as they could raise. Now that may be a temporary mortification, but it is a fine promise of the future, because these boys are not going to forget twice as much to the acre as their fathers did, and the thing is going to happen which ought to happen; the agricultural products of this country, judged by our opportunities and our soil and our native capacity, ought to be twice what it is at present; and, instead of the possibility of shortage, there ought always to be a certainty of exportation of large bodies of grain from the United States. Those exportations ought not to fall off from year to year, as they did in the recent decades because of the increase in demand of this country, and therefore the decrease in the surplus that was available for shipment. They ought constantly to increase, notwithstanding the pace with which the population of the country is increasing, and faster than the pace with which the population of the country is increasing.

Not only is the farmer assisted now by the Agriculture Department to get the information which formerly used to be printed only in technical bulletins which only a scientific man could interpret; not only is the information put in more popular and easily comprehensible form, but a regular machinery has been created for seeing that the agricultural papers and the county papers and the local papers everywhere should get this information in brief form and disseminate it everywhere in the country.

And the farmer has been brought into connection, into informational connection, let me put it, with his markets. There are two things necessary to make farming a business so far as selling the crop is con-

cerned. You have got to know where your markets are; that is to say, where you can get your best price, and you have got to be able to ship in the most advantageous way. If you are farming on a small scale and have to ship in small quantities you cannot ship at the same advantageous rates that would be available if you shipped in larger quantities. It is, therefore, desirable that you should co-operate with your neighbor farmers in order to have a single agency through which to make large shipments to the right places. These instrumentalities are suggested and in some part supplied by the Agriculture Department.

So that what we are trying to do all along the line is to establish co-operation, general development, common counsel, and what I would be glad to have you gentlemen understand is that it is exactly the formula that fits everything that we have been trying to do.

We have been trying to take the Government of this country out of the control and from under the guidance of small groups and square it with the counsel of the whole Nation. We have been trying to make a partnership of it, and I am glad to say we have succeeded.

I do not wonder that the gentlemen out of whose hands it has been taken are uneasy, because they are genuinely of the opinion that only they know how to run the country, and if I thought I was the only man living who knew how to run the country I would be very sorry to see it taken out of my hands. I have a suspicion that has been forced upon me by many experiences that I am not the only man, and what has surprised some of these gentlemen is to discover how many others there are who really understand the United States. The United States is beginning to understand itself, and it is beginning to understand these gentlemen.

Now I want to illustrate in another way that has nothing to do with farming what we have been trying to accomplish, and I want you to keep in mind as the central word of the whole idea of government that I

am trying to expound the word "co-operation." And I want you to contrast that word with the word "combination." Co-operation means all of us getting together; combination means some of us getting together and doing what we please.

You just now heard a few very gracious words, let me say, from a representative of the engineers, and I want to illustrate in connection with what some of the engineers have been doing what the Government has recently tried to accomplish. The engineering societies of this country recently undertook to make a sort of inventory, a sort of general comprehensive statement not only of the resources of this country—I mean of the manufactures and the products of the mines and all the other things that contribute to our national wealth—but to make an inventory of how these things were being produced and how their production could be co-ordinated and drawn together for the national use in case of necessity.

One of the great lessons of the European war has been that the economic mobilization of the country, the economic co-ordination and co-operation of it, is just as important as the military co-operation of it, and the advantage we saw was this, that if we could get this kind of an inventory, make the various manufacturers, the scientists of the country who were in the practical laboratories, the engineers of the country who were undertaking the great tasks, some of which are now characteristic of times of war, and all those men realize that the Nation was not safe that the Nation would see that it was not safe unless they co-operated in time of peace too.

I am not expecting this country to get into war. I know that the way in which we have preserved peace is objected to, and that certain gentlemen say that they would have taken some other way that would inevitably have resulted in war, but I am not expecting this country

to get into war, partly because I am not expecting those gentlemen to have a chance to make a mess of it.

But I am very glad to take advantage of the present concentration of the attention of the world upon the problems of war to make it evident to the country that those same problems are the problems of peace so far as they are economic problems. The railway development of this country has never been studied as a whole, for one thing. Each system of roads, or each set of roads, or each individual road, has studied the country that it went through and tried to develop its carrying facilities as that region of the country seemed to demand, or, rather, as the profit of the railroad seemed to suggest, and there are a great many links missing in the system.

There are a great many things lacking in the transportation facilities of the country which are now going to be developed in the new kind of consultation which we have established, because, besides this fine, voluntary undertaking of the engineers of the country to make an inventory of our possibilities of co-operation, the Congress has recently created a Council of National Defense, and has associated with that counsel an advisory body of seven men who shall represent those same physical and intellectual resources; a great surgeon, a great engineer, a great railroad man, a great manufacturer; all the several kinds of industry in this country at any rate represented for the purpose of taking counsel with the Government itself at Washington as to how the resources of this country can be drawn together at all times—in times of peace as well as in times of war. Because, my friends, in the immediate future this country has got to know itself, has got to draw upon its resources in the most intelligent possible way, and has got to make conquest of all those men who refuse to co-operate.[1] It has got to subordinate

[1] These paragraphs, like many others in the preceding campaign speeches, show distinctly the Wilsonian preparedness.

the individual interest and the individual group of interests to the general interest.

And it is not going to be hard, because that is the intelligent thing to do. Almost anybody will see it if you point it out to him. It just had not occurred to enough people. It just had not been seen by a sufficiently energetic body of men, and now we are seeing it. Some of the most interesting experiences I have had in recent months have been in connection with this. For example, representatives of the great medical and surgical societies of the United States, when they saw what we were after, came and offered to co-operate with us to the limit in developing the kind of co-operation which would be necessary in time of war.

There, again, is touched the sanitation and the safety of times of peace.

Representatives of the great scientists of the country, the men of so-called pure science, who are studying scientific questions without any immediate thought of the practical use of what they may discover, have done just what the engineers have tried to do with regard to the industries. They have made an inventory of the laboratories of the country. They have made a list of the men who are ready to work for nothing, to work out the problems that the Nation may have to face. They have offered to mobilize the scientific brains of the country for the service of the Nation.

The engineers are proposing to establish engineering experiment stations all over the United States; and so from every quarter, my friends, this splendid thing is happening, that this country is waking up to its unity, to the mutual responsibility to each other of its citizens, waking up to the sense of partnership and co-operation and co-ordination which has been, by intention at any rate and I hope by performance, the impelling motive of the present Administration. We want to have the privilege of representing the whole force of the nation.

That is our interest in agriculture. That is the reason we recently appropriated $36,000,000 to these various undertakings that I have been describing, as against only $24,000,000 in previous Administrations. That is the reason why we have worked upon this philosophy: You cannot worship God on an empty stomach. You cannot be a patriot when you are starving. You cannot run the machinery of your physical system unless there is fuel in the furnace.

The spirit of the Nation in some sense comes from the feeding of the Nation. I heard a man say very instructively once that there is an interesting illustration of how much the Bible illuminates the human spirit in the fact that in the Lord's Prayer the first petition was, "Give us this day our daily bread," and that the spiritual injunction, the injunction of what we are to do with our spirits, came after the prayer that our bodies should be sustained.

America has no distinction unless it is a spiritual distinction, and America must use her farming resources and all her other resources to make citizens incomparably more interested in the general welfare than the citizens of any other country. There is one clause of the Constitution which has been very extensively developed, but which to my mind is the most interesting clause in it—the clause which says that Congress shall have the power to do this, that, and the other thing for the general welfare—putting into the Constitution, as it were, a motive as well as a power, an idea as well as a structure, and that ought to be the impelling motive that all of us have in mind—the general welfare.

I am glad, my fellow-citizens, that the campaign is nearly over. I am in a hurry to get down to business again. There is a great deal of irresponsible talk being indulged in. Men are saying lots of things that they know perfectly well they cannot make good on, and it disturbs the national counsel.

We are too hard headed to be taken in, and yet we

have to allow ourselves to seem to be taken in for several months together. On the 7th of November we will call time, and say to each other: "Now that the talk is over and all the things have been said that will be regretted, let us sober up. Let's stop this indulgence in loose talk and really get down to the solemn business, for it is a very solemn business of trying to comprehend our general duty with regard to the Nation at large."

And not only with regard to the Nation at large, but with regard to the part we shall play among the other nations of the world. I must not let any opportunity pass without mentioning our relationships with the rest of the world, because they are going to be incomparably more intimate in the years to come than they ever have been in the years gone by.

That is the reason we are insisting, my fellow-citizens, that when men think they shall think in terms of America, and not in terms of other countries. That is the reason we are putting men through the third degree with respect of where they stand with regard to love of the United States. That is the reason we are submitting them to examination as to whether they qualify as genuine Americans or not, and if they qualify as genuine Americans not only in profession, but in performance, then we are ready to be partners with them and go ahead.

But if they do not they will have to go through a period of probation, when we will allow them to sit by us; when we will insist that they be instructed by our precept and by our example, and when we shall show them that the only dignity that they can get, the only glory they can get, the only self-satisfaction they can get, is by sharing with all true-hearted men that fundamental allegiance which makes a man prouder of things that he has done for others than he is for things that he has done for himself.

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THE BUSINESS OF NEUTRALITY IS OVER

PART OF A SPEECH DELIVERED AT CINCINNATI, OCTOBER 26, 1916. FROM THE NEW YORK "TIMES," OCTOBER 27, 1916.

YOU know that I began that academic career to which so many unpleasant references are nowadays made as a teacher in a woman's college. I taught the women at Bryn Mawr as best I could the science of government. It has always been a well known fact to me that when I address women upon public questions I can address them exactly as I would address men.

After all, the real problem of this country is to make a community of it, is to get the civic spirit the same from one side of the continent to the other. And not only the spirit the same, but the conscious purpose the same.

I am very glad, in the midst of the confusions and the irresponsible talk of a campaign, to be permitted to discuss these things that have nothing to do with campaigns, that run all through the history of the nation, and must always run through, and look forward to the times to come when, whether in one capacity or in another we must always co-operate for a common object. And therefore I for one have been very much disturbed by some of the things that have been predicted, that are said to be going to happen after the war, after the present distressing war in Europe.

I say that I have been distressed because apparently the point of these predictions was that this war of arms was going to be followed by another sort of contest, based on a radical economic rivalry which would breed deeper antagonisms than the antagonisms of actual force. You know what has happened in countries like our own beloved country. The feeling between North and South in this country did not arise out of the war,

out of the fighting. It arose out of the political measures that followed the war. It is in times of peace that the irreconcilable antagonisms of nations are created. When you fight, you, so to say, get the hatred out of your blood by the very exertion of the struggle. Moreover, it is a contact of force with an equal force, and respect is bred between the antagonists. But it would be a very sad pity if this war should be followed by subtle antagonisms that could not be cured in that way, and that did not lead to mutual respect.

For one thing it is predicted that after this war is over Europe will overwhelm the United States by her economic power and her economic antagonisms to the United States. I wonder that any thinking men can entertain an opinion of that sort. It is obviously based on a singular and profound ignorance. What is this war doing in Europe? Does war increase the economic efficiency of a nation? There are some 25,000,000 men under arms or who have been under arms in this titanic struggle. From 40 to 60 per cent of the skilled mechanics of Europe have been called into the field; not mechanics merely, but men of skill of every sort, musicians, men who could play upon the human spirit as well as deftly handle a mechanical instrument. And the whole energy, the whole physical energy, the whole dexterity, the whole thought of great nations have been concentrated upon this business of destruction. The business of destruction has been so successful that the materials of economic life have been destroyed upon an enormous scale. The debts that these nations are piling up are so great that the interest on them will equal the whole budgets of these nations before the war came on.

And these gentlemen tell us that these nations that have spent their best blood and energy for this thing are in the meantime doing what? Creating great bodies of goods which they are going to ship to us and dump on us when the war is over. Have they ever

seen a war? Have they any imagination? Have they any conception of what this war means? Do they know that the population that is not in the field is bent, in all its concentrated energy, upon one thing, namely, sustaining those who are in the field?

And are they now creating dye-stuffs to ruin our markets? Are they now manufacturing silks to overcome our American silk factories? Are they producing the things that they have ordinarily sent to America in such abundance, while they are in this death grapple, that they are thinking of overwhelming America?

Why, my friends, we ought not to turn to these people in fear, but in sympathy! We ought to realize that after this exhaustion they will need us, and that we need not fear them. I would be ashamed of anybody in America who should regard with satisfaction this lowering of the physical energy of Europe, for besides the men killed in the field, besides the men hopelessly maimed, there are the men whose nerve will never be fit again for the exercise of skill or initiative or enterprise. The whole nervous and physical energy of these nations will require, I do not know how long, a generation, say, to recover its tone. No man with a heart under his jacket can regard that with satisfaction and say that will be America's opportunity, if by saying that will be America's opportunity, he means America's opportunity to take advantage of it. It will be America's opportunity, but it will be her opportunity to do something very much greater than that, for in the meantime look at the situation of the United States.

The United States has had an industrial and manufacturing revival in the last two years, such as it never experienced before, and when men imagine that this is due to the trade created by the war they are merely imagining it, because they have not read the facts. If you take the figures of our commerce, domestic and foreign included, you will find that the foreign commerce, even upon the modest reckoning of our domestic

commerce, does not equal four per cent of the total, and the exports in munitions, and not merely in munitions, but in everything that goes to supply armies—draft animals, automobile trucks, food directly intended for that purpose, shoes, clothes, everything that is needed by the commissary of an army—that all these things put together do not constitute one per cent of the total of our commerce. Now, is four per cent creating the ninety-six per cent? Is it reasonable to suppose that it is?

And in the meantime what have we done? It was estimated at the beginning of the war that about four thousand millions of dollars' worth of American securities were held on the other side of the water. In these two years we have bought back again, it is estimated—for it cannot be accurately determined—$2,000,000,000. We have actually been able to take back into our own hands half of what we have borrowed from Europe, and we have accumulated in that time $2,636,000,000 of gold, which is one-third of the gold supply of the world. If the war goes on another year we shall probably have half the gold supply of the world.

And in the meantime we have got a sort of world spirit that we never had before. One of the difficulties with America has been that she has been too provincial. She has thought too exclusively of herself and of her own development, sometimes to her great advantage, but, nevertheless, too exclusively if she is to realize her place in the world. And the fact that all the rest of the world was in a different case has made us realize the meaning of our national life and the opportunities of our national life more vividly than we ever realized them before. And so we are the creditors of the world, in some sense the bankers of the world, as we never were before. Our whole activity has been quickened to the highest point. We are awake. We are ready. Ready for what?

Suppose, however, that all of Europe had been

secretly, I suppose in the night time, manufacturing goods that we know that they have not time to manufacture, at any rate, in the day time, and was ready, as these men with silly imaginations say that they are, to dump goods—for dump is the word they like to use—to dump their goods on us. We have means of defense, and we have means of aggression. Our means of defense are that we have taken pains to have all the instrumentalities to find out exactly what is going on, and to be ready to act immediately we find it is necessary to defend ourselves. And in a law passed in the last session of Congress we have an adequate and explicit law preventing the dumping of foreign goods on this market at prices cheaper than they are sold at home. It is illegal, and the gentlemen who try it can be fined $1,000 apiece and given a year in jail to think about it. We are not helpless. We are not blind; and we have created instrumentalities by which we can serve the world. The chief instrumentality is the Federal Reserve banking system.

What I want, therefore, to preach from this time on, in office or out of office—because even out of office I can retain my powers of locution—what I intend to preach from this time on is that America must show that as a member of the family of nations she has the same attitude toward the other nations that she wishes her people to have toward each other: That America is going to take this position, that she will lend her moral influence, not only, but her physical force, if other nations will join her, to see to it that no nation and no group of nations tries to take advantage of another nation or group of nations, and that the only thing ever fought for is the common rights of humanity.

A great many men are complaining that we are not fighting now in order to get something—not something spiritual, not a right, not something we could be proud of, but something we could possess and take advantage of and trade on and profit by. They are complaining

that the Government of the United States has not the spirit of other Governments, which is to put the force, the army and navy, of that Government behind investments in foreign countries. Just so certainly as you do that, you join this chaos of competing and hostile ambitions.

Have you ever heard what started the present war? If you have, I wish you would publish it, because nobody else has, so far as I can gather. Nothing in particular started it, but everything in general. There had been growing up in Europe a mutual suspicion, an interchange of conjecture about what this Government and that Government was going to do, an interlacing of alliances and understandings, a complex web of intrigue and spying, that presently was sure to entangle the whole of the family of mankind on that side of the water in its meshes.

Now, revive that after this war is over and sooner or later you will have just such another war, and this is the last war of the kind or of any other kind that involves the world that the United States can keep out of.

I say that because I believe that the business of neutrality is over; not because I want it to be over, but I mean this, that war now has such a scale that the position of neutrals sooner or later becomes intolerable. Just as neutrality would be intolerable to me if I lived in a community where everybody had to assert his own rights by force and I had to go around among my neighbors and say: "Here, this cannot last any longer; let us get together and see that nobody disturbs the peace any more." That is what society is and we have not yet a society of nations.

We must have a society of nations, not suddenly, not by insistence, not by any hostile emphasis upon the demand, but by the demonstration of the needs of the time. The nations of the world must get together and say, "Nobody can hereafter be neutral as respects the disturbance of the world's peace for an object which

the world's opinion cannot sanction." The world's peace ought to be disturbed if the fundamental rights of humanity are invaded, but it ought not to be disturbed for any other thing that I can think of, and America was established in order to indicate, at any rate in one Government, the fundamental rights of man. America must hereafter be ready as a member of the family of nations to exert her whole force, moral and physical, to the assertion of those rights throughout the round globe.

That is the reason that we are so much interested now in the establishment of a unity of spirit in the United States. We must all be the same kind of Americans in order that we may do the same kind of American things. The problem is a spiritual problem. It is a problem which can be solved only by the heart, can be solved only by those fine emotions which are, after all, the masters of action.

The exceptional man is generally too much in love with himself, for one thing, and generally knows more than it is lawful under divine law for any man to know, whereas the average man is ready to learn; he is ready to take as well as to give; he has been in the bitter struggles of life; he does not expect to be handed roses at every turn, he does not expect to live luxuriously; he knows that life is a struggle and the best that he can manage to get is a square deal.

So that in struggling in the present and in planning for the future, my moral is, let us see to it that America as a whole, and every American that constitutes America as one of the factions, is shot through with that spirit of human sympathy, which is the only spirit of true enterprise.

DENIAL OF SENATOR LODGE'S CHARGE

LETTER TO MR. WALTER LIPPMANN, OCTOBER 30, 1916.
FROM THE NEW YORK "TIMES," OCTOBER 31, 1916.

IN reply to your telegram, let me say that the statement made by Senator Lodge is untrue. No postscript or amendment of the *Lusitania* note was ever written or contemplated by me except such changes as I myself inserted which strengthened and emphasized the protest. It was suggested, after the note was ready for transmission, that an invitation be conveyed to the German Government that a proposal for arbitration would be acceptable, and one member of the Cabinet spoke to me about it, but it was never discussed in the Cabinet meeting, and no threat of any resignation was ever made, for the very good reason that I rejected the suggestion after giving it such consideration as I thought every proposal deserved which touched so grave a matter. It was inconsistent with the purpose of the note. The public is in possession of everything that was said to the German Government.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE DAY OF ISOLATION IS GONE

SPEECH AT SHADOW LAWN, AT A MEETING OF NEW JERSEY CITIZENS, NOVEMBER 4, 1916. FROM THE NEW YORK "TIMES," NOVEMBER 5, 1916.

I THINK it is not necessary for me to tell you how it warms my heart to see this group of my fellow citizens from this State, in which I have lived so long and for which I have tried to do the best that was in me, and my thoughts to-day are naturally first of the aspects of the campaign as they display themselves in New Jersey.

I must say that it has been very hard in recent weeks not to take off my coat and get back into the fight that is now developing in this State in the effort to reinstate in power the men whom we routed six years ago and held up to the reprobation and contempt of all lovers of just and true government, because it is apt to stir the blood very hotly to see these men trying to get into power again.

We have heard a great deal of talk in condemnation of invisible government. Invisible government never existed in more hateful forms than it has existed in past years in this State of New Jersey, and that invisible government never had more successful places of concealment than it had in such localities as Atlantic City, from whom the candidate for Governor on the Republican side has been chosen, and it never received more successful and persistent defense than it has received from the newspapers which he owns and controls.

When I see this unblushing, this impudent attempt to reinstate these forces without any concealment of any kind, do you wonder that I would like to get out again and denounce the whole crowd as I know them? Because their purpose is to do exactly with the Govern-

ment of New Jersey what they used to do in the old days of the highest tide of their power, when in private conclave they used to do the things that no men would dare to do in public, and this State was governed, not by its Legislature, not by its accredited servants, but by men who contrived things for their own interest, without taking the public into their confidence at all—back-stairs government.

For my part, I do not believe that the people of New Jersey are going to be deceived by this thing. Deceived? Why should they be? There is no concealment of the purpose. The whole thing is perfectly obvious because of the conduct of the candidates that have been picked out. I have followed the trail of this sort of thing in New Jersey. I know where it is.

It has been uncovered so often that if there is any voter who does not know where it is he has only himself to blame. If any man votes for the Republican State candidates in this contest, he knows that he is voting for the re-establishment of invisible government in the State of New Jersey, and he is betraying the confidence which is reposed in every man who goes to the ballot box to exercise the great and solemn duty of choosing public servants. I cannot speak with too much emphasis on this subject, because I know what I am talking about.

You remember that six years ago when I was running for Governor in this State it was said that I was a schoolmaster. I had to admit it, because it was so, but I told them that I was running as a schoolmaster on this understanding, that the business of the schoolmaster was understood to be to find out everything he could and tell all he knew about it, and I promised them that if I was elected I would find out everything I could find out and tell them all about it. I did find it out. I did tell them, and if they have not forgotten the lesson, they will turn with reprobation and contempt

away from the men who are trying to establish the things which they then destroyed.

It is delightful to fight the things that are wrong. It is delightful to hit something that is worth hitting and destroying. The only thing that is disappointing in contests of this sort is that these fellows dodge and will not get hit. They speak and will not reveal their purpose. They have no sand or stomach for the fight in the open, and they erect things that look like bulwarks but are mere pretense.

I remember telling an audience of my fellow citizens in New Jersey, in Newark, six years ago that these things that they were approaching might look like fortresses with real guns in the embrasures, but that they were made of cardboard; the guns were imitations, the men behind them were cowards because they were fighting in an unworthy cause, and all that we had to do was to march against this apparent fortress to see it crumble in its own weakness. And so it is again. All you have got to do is merely to say what you want and miasmatic mists of this sort of thing disappear just as they disappear before the wholesome rays of the sun itself.

I want to testify that I have dealt with most of the men who are being offered as candidates on the State Democratic ticket, and I know them to be honest men. I would trust them, and the only people you can afford to put into office in this year of grace is people that you can trust, people whose orbit you can calculate beforehand, people whom you have tested and whose position is known to you in all its frank particulars.

But, after all, fellow citizens, the thing that is being attempted in New Jersey is only part of what is being attempted in the United States, and being attempted in the United States with more and more transparency of purpose. Look how the campaign has gone. First of all, an attempt to set up some handsome issue. Not

a very interesting attempt, because the issue was a new one every week.

As soon as you approach what was said to be in the issue, it seemed to fade and disappear and there was nothing for you to grasp or grapple. And after finding that the search for an issue was in vain, they came down once more to the only thing they have in recent years ever known how to talk about, and that was the protective tariff. They know perfectly well that all the pretenses about the protective tariff have been torn away, not by the oratory of Democratic speakers, but by the patent demonstrations of fact. They know that the working men of this country may have been deceived for a little while, but they cannot be deceived all the time. They know just as well as we know that the industries in which the highest protection was given paid the lowest wages, and they know that the highest wages were paid in the least protected industries. That is a matter of record. Not only that, they know that in some of the most highly protected industries the conditions under which the laboring people lived were a disgrace to our civilization. They know that the men and women were ground just as low as they could be ground, and that these gentlemen who profess American patriotic feeling for the American laborer were most eager to import laborers from abroad and employ those who, because they did not know what America could afford them, were willing to take what they could get.

They know that the conditions of the laboring people in their employ were a patent contradiction of all the promises they had made to those working people when election was on. And now what do we witness? Having despaired of an issue, they are filling the country with alarms. They are not only filling the country with alarms, but they are attempting coercion of their laborers.

They imagine that these men are not their own mas-

ters and dare not vote as they think; and at last, I thank God, the American laborer is awake. He at last judges his friends by what they do and not by what they say. He knows that he has found friends, because he has found men who will do the things that he has demanded should be done in justice and equity to him.

Let them fill the air with alarms. The alarms are their own, not ours. They used to control the credit of the country; they now control nothing but the betting. So that I think as we look back upon this campaign—for we are now looking back upon it, and we hear now nothing but cries of distress as we look back upon it—we can see a very heartening and encouraging thing. We can see the American people at last asserting themselves by rejecting the old leadership by which they were so long led astray, and turning to do things for themselves.

The difference between the Republican party and the Democratic is this: The Republican party offer them masters; we offer them comrades and leaders. The Republican party offers to take care of them; we offer to go into the fight shoulder to shoulder with them to get the rights which no man has the right to give to them. The ranks are formed. The discipline is self-disciplined. No man needs to guide them in their voting. They know what the issues are, and in their minds' eye they see those little coteries that used to govern the affairs of this country and control the Treasury of the United States, sitting in secret conference trying to determine how, in the last days of the campaign, when no man will have an opportunity to answer them, they may repeat the deceptions by which they have been controlling the votes of American citizens. You know, if you cry "Wolf," too often, the cry is of no efficacy. You know that if you show your hand too often, you are not allowed to play it at all. That is the position in which these gentlemen now find themselves.

Why, my fellow citizens, I have gone to several parts

of this country since this campaign opened, and in every instance I have sought to make real non-partisan addresses, for the purpose of discussing the real public questions of the day. These public questions are of the widest consequence and significance. We are trying to reconstruct America along the lines of justice and equity, which cut very much deeper than any party lines. Democrats are not the only people who have burning at their hearts the desire to see these things done. There are men without number in the ranks of the other party, even, men who are allowing themselves to be misled and deceived, who want these things done. It was the duty of those who represent the Republican party, as it was our duty in this campaign, to expound the real heart of the social necessities and the political exigencies of America. Have they done that? Have they not merely said that though the right things had been done, no doubt, they had been done by the wrong people?

What difference does it make who did them, whether they were good-looking men or ugly men, whether they were wise men or unwise, whether they were schoolmasters or sages? If they were done, and were the right things to do, then every man ought to stand by them and praise them. It is not a question of personal qualification. It is a question of what the person, whether qualified or unqualified, intends to do that tells in an exigency like this, for it is an exigency.

It is not a crisis, as the Republican leaders would have you believe because it is necessary to get the Democratic party out. That does not constitute the crisis, though that, I must admit, is the only crisis they have disclosed. It is a crisis because some of the fundamental things of the life of the world have to be determined. That is the only reason why we have been saying so much—by "we" I mean everybody who has been discussing this campaign—about the apparent division in our ranks, about the apparent desire of some people to

have our public policy determined by European reasons and not American reasons. We have seen that unless we could unite and direct and purify the forces of this country we could not do what it was necessary to do for the world through the instrumentality of America. Therefore, we have insisted with repeated insistence that the first thing to do was to see that everybody intended to do the same things and love the same things and believe in the same things. All that we have heard from our opponents has been that they believe in themselves. That is not what we wanted to know. Do they believe in us also? Do they believe in America also? Do they believe that America, by showing in her own politics that she means what she says about herself, can be counted upon to mean what she says about the world when the war is over?

It amazes me that men calling themselves statesmen should discuss some of the things our opponents have been dwelling upon when the whole atmosphere of the world was lurid with the blaze of threatened trouble; men spreading tinder in this country when sparks without number were blowing from this terrible conflagration; men making party sport of unsettled questions, not settled ones, of present courses of action, not past courses of action; seeking to make party capital out of things which if not settled wisely might bring this country at any moment into the world conflict which is devastating Europe.

It is not amazing, my fellow citizens, to witness such effort for party advantage, and does it not point for us this moral, that we are now in the presence of things which ought to make parties almost a matter of indifference to us; which ought to make things fundamental the only things we care anything about; which ought to make the just foundations of peace the things that we are seeking for rather than the accidental elements of peace; not searching for the detail, but

searching for the heart purpose that is in the whole thing.

The world will never be again what it has been. The United States will never be again what it has been. The United States was once in enjoyment of what we used to call splendid isolation. The three thousand miles of the Atlantic seemed to hold all European affairs at arm's length from us. The great spaces of the Pacific seemed to disclose no threat of influence upon our politics.

Now, from across the Atlantic and from across the Pacific we feel to the quick the influences which are affecting ourselves, and, in the meantime, whereas we used to be always in search of assistance and stimulation from out of the other countries, always in search of the capital of other countries to assist our investments, depending upon foreign markets for the sale of our securities, now we have bought in more than 50 per cent of those securities; we have become not the debtors but the creditors of the world, and in what other nations used to play in promoting industries which extended as wide as the world itself, we are playing the guiding part.

We can determine to a large extent who is to be financed and who is not to be financed. That is the reason I say that the United States will never be again what it has been. So it does not suffice to look, as some gentlemen are looking, back over their shoulders, to suggest that we do again what we did when we were provincial and isolated and unconnected with the great forces of the world, for now we are in the great drift of humanity which is to determine the politics of every country in the world.

With this outlook, is it worth while to stop to think of party advantage? Is it worth stopping to think of how we have voted in the past? We are now going to vote, if we be men with eyes open that can see the world, as those who wish to make a new America in a new

world mean the same old thing for mankind that it meant when this great Republic was set up; *mean hope* and justice and righteous judgment and unselfish action. Why, my fellow citizens, it is an unprecedented thing in the world that any nation in determining its foreign relations should be unselfish, and my ambition is to see America set the great example; not only a great example morally, but a great example intellectually.

I was asking some business men the other day what they thought were the real foundations of good business. It was evident from their response that they agreed with me that the real foundations of good business are a vital and contented people. You cannot have good business out of a discontented population. You cannot have it out of a population large portions of which feel they are not getting the square deal. The sources of business are in the hearts and energies of mankind.

Now, similarly, you cannot get a great position in the world except out of a vital world. America cannot reap the harvest of her influence unless the soils of the world are kindly and genial and yield to her influence, and they will yield not to hatred, not to enmity, but to sympathy and co-operation and the love of only those things that are just and right.

Is it not worth while voting for these things no matter how you have voted in past years? You never had these things to vote for before. Are you going to determine what you are going to vote for now by what you voted for in an era that is concluded and gone by? For my part, I thank God that the era of the Old Guard has gone by. They never conceived or understood an unselfish purpose in their lives. They had as their motto: "Enlightened Selfishness." The only thing that is enlightened is unselfishness. If I were merely sinister and wanted to fill my own pockets as a business man I would be unselfish because I could

make more money that way than any other way. Is it not so?

Look at the industries which have treated their employes as if they were fellow-men and human beings. Have they not had better factories, and have they not made more money than the rest? Not these big ones that were so big that they could use their employes as mere tools and throw them away when they got dull or rusty, but the industries that were small enough to feel the influence of all that was human. Have they not been the ones that have prospered, and does not the happiness of their employes spell for them the fine balance on their ledgers?

But that is the selfish side of it. It all goes back to the old Scotchman's conclusion that honesty is the best policy. He frankly admitted that he had tried both. Having tried both in this country, we now know which to vote for. These gentlemen who choose their candidates recklessly with regard to that conclusion have made a very serious and complete miscalculation.

No, my fellow citizens, I feel rising in my pulses already the inspiration and impulse which is to come not only to the United States, but the world, next Tuesday. I do not identify myself with this. To me has fallen the unspeakable good fortune of happening to be the spokesman of the American people at this critical and fateful time. I do not know what is wise. I cannot be sure that I judge right, but I am sure that my heart speaks the same thing that they wish their hearts to speak. It is only in this impulse, in this sympathetic connection which I am sure that I have with them, that I am worthy to speak for them at all. Therefore, I can feel some of the impersonal inspiration which comes from events and circumstances like the present.

Every man who has read and studied the great annals of this country may feel his blood warm as he feels these great forces of humanity growing stronger and stronger, not only, but knowing better and better from

decade to decade how to concert action and unite their strength. In the days to come men will no longer wonder how America is going to work out her destiny, for she will have proclaimed to them that her destiny is not divided from the destiny of the world, that her purpose is justice and love of mankind.

FINAL TELEGRAM SENT TO STATE AND COUNTY CHAIRMEN NOVEMBER 5, 1916

FROM THE NEW YORK "TIMES," NOVEMBER 6, 1916.

I THANK you heartily for the splendid work done by you and by all the workers in the cause of progressive principles at issue in this campaign.

The fight is won I fully believe, though I take this means of urging you to renewed exertions and vigilance to see that belated efforts to confuse the public judgment do not succeed.

Our country is prosperous, secure, and happy; and its prosperity is upon a sound basis. Steps to protect our commerce and industry in any emergency after the European war ends have been taken. The anti-dumping clause of the so-called War Revenue act provides the Executive with ample power to prevent the "dumping" of European surplus manufactures upon our markets. The tariff Commission will shortly be appointed and at work to provide the facts which will determine what other legislation is necessary or desirable. I need not add that the Federal Reserve act is a guarantee against panics, and that the Federal Trade Commission will aid, as it already has helped, to preserve the stability of our domestic and foreign commerce.

I am confident that the time has passed in America when votes can be bought, the ballot box defiled by corrupt practices, or the judgment of the American people determined or influenced in any way by the use of money. It is, however, our duty to take every precaution, lest conscienceless agents of the sinister forces working in opposition to progressive principles and popular government resort in their desperation to industrial coercion or to the evil and insidious practices of a decade and more ago.

WOODROW WILSON.

BIGGER CROPS NEEDED

ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL GRANGE, WASHINGTON, NOVEMBER 14, 1916. FROM THE NEW YORK "TIMES," NOVEMBER 15, 1916.

IT goes without saying that the physical life of the nation has always depended upon the farm. It goes without saying, also, that to a large extent the physical life of the world has drawn its sustenance from the great areas of farm land in the United States. We have sent food to all parts of the world, and the American farmer has contributed to the life of all the countries of the world. But you know that as our own population has increased the proportion in which we could help foreign countries as contrasted with our own has decreased and there are problems that are comparable with the problems of statesmanship lying ahead of the farmers of the United States.

I have been very much interested in conferring with the Secretary of Agriculture to find that although the laboratory and the investigations of the man of science who was not directly concerned with the farm have had a great deal to do with the promotion of agriculture in the United States, as elsewhere, what has had still more to do with it has been the intelligent farming of the individual farmer. Most of the methods which the demonstrators of the Department of Agriculture have been busy to spread as far and wide as possible have been methods which they have learned from the most accomplished and best instructed farmers in the United States.

In other words, the Department of Agriculture has had, as one of its most important duties, to put all the farmers of the United States, so far as possible, where the best of the farmers of the United States had got

of their own initiative and of their own intelligence. That, after all, is the business of education anyhow—to spread the product of the best minds far and wide, so that they may be accessible to everybody.

But in the future we have got to bring more of the area of the United States under cultivation than is under cultivation now. We have got to increase the product at every point where it is susceptible of being increased. We have got to study the variation of crops. We have got to study how to assist nature, or at any rate understand nature, by making the most suitable use of our several and varied soils. One of the things that has interested me most, for example, is that what we have called the pine barrens of our Southern coast need not be barrens at all; that if we add a single additional element we can make the sand blossom and bloom and produce crops, and that if nature is only questioned closely enough she will yield us her richest products for our own assistance and for the assistance of the rest of the world.

We have got to look closely into these secrets, and we have got to realize that there must go forth from the United States the best agricultural intelligence of all the world. We have got the means. We have got the purpose. We have started along the right lines.

One of the things that has most interested me about what has been done recently by legislation for the benefit of the farmer is the question why it was not done long before. It is astonishing that the assets—the valuable available assets, the visible assets—of the farm should not have been available as a basis of credit in the banks on the same terms as the assets of commercial undertaking and manufacturing industry. Cattle are just as visible and tangible as goods in warehouses and goods on trains.

Credit based on cattle is as good as credit based on bills of lading, and the astonishing thing is not that it has been done now, but that it took so long to do it.

And when you add to that what has been done by the Rural Credits bill in the way of long-extended credits you will see that we have, so to say, got ready for the first time to use the capital of this country to push forward the agricultural industry of this country. We have liberated the credits of the banks and we have mobilized, through the Department of Agriculture, the scientific intelligence of the world.

With that combination, every nation in the world ought to come to us to learn how to raise big crops.

We ought to raise such big crops that circumstances like the present can never recur, when men can make as if the supply was so short that the middleman could charge for it what he pleased. It will not do to be niggardly with the world in respect of its food supply.

I always feel the poignant truth of a sermon I once heard, where it was pointed out that the first petition in the Lord's Prayer was "Give us this day our daily bread," the preacher going on to observe that you could not worship God or anything else on an empty stomach, and that our Lord perceived, as all perceive, that until we were fed rational and spiritual processes were impossible. So that the function of the farmer is, so to say, the initial function of life, and in this initial function it is my ambition, as I am sure it is yours, that the farmers of the United States should lead by way of conspicuous example.

I wish that all problems of Government were displayed in as clear lines of duty as this problem of government with regard to how the farmer ought to be treated is displayed. I wish, for example, that foreign affairs were as simple as agriculture. The great satisfaction about what you have to discuss is that when once our duty is determined, we have got a great force of intelligence to go forward in the line of duty.

I did not intend when I came here to say as much as I have, or to discourse in the least about agriculture, but I did want to congratulate you upon the opportunity

now to study upon a scale as wide as the world the great business in which you are engaged, and to express my very profound interest in the more recent developments of agriculture in the United States which have been converting it from an occupation into a systematic business; which have been introducing the things which make a free country—counsel and co-operation.

The thing that makes a free country vital is the large number of people who get together to do important things without asking the leave of the Government to do them. The striking thing about a great country like the United States is that if the Government neglected everything, the people would do it; that you do not beckon to the people of the United States. They command you to go on, and things that are neglected they have got plenty of brains to get together and do for themselves.

All these organizations of business men and manufacturers and advertising men and farmers, and everybody else that has the same occupation, are just a great combination of brains to keep alive the whole vital intelligence of the nation. They do not wait on anybody's invitation to do things unpremeditated for them. They illustrate at every turn of what they do the extraordinary vitality of this nation. The farmers have got together long enough, and it is only recently that the country has appreciated just how much it has left to the farmer to do what the Government ought to have done for him. I am very proud to have lived in a time and be affiliated with the Government at a time when these things were becoming manifest, and the duty of the Government toward the farmer was partially performed.

THE RIGHT HAND TO LABOR

ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AT THE WHITE HOUSE, NOVEMBER 18, 1916. FROM THE NEW YORK "TIMES," NOVEMBER 19, 1916.

I NEED not say that, coming to me as you do on such an errand, I am very deeply gratified and very greatly cheered. It would be impossible for me offhand to say just what thoughts are stirred in me by what Mr. Gompers has said to me as your spokesman, but perhaps the simplest thing I can say is, after all, the meat of the whole matter. What I have tried to do is to get rid of any class division in this country, not only, but of any class consciousness and feeling. The worst thing that could happen to America would be that she should be divided into groups and camps in which there were men and women who thought that they were at odds with one another, that the spirit of America was not expressed except in them, and that possibilities of antagonism were the only things that we had to look forward to.

As Mr. Gompers said, achievement is a comparatively small matter, but the spirit in which things are done is of the essence of the whole thing, and what I am striving for, and what I hope you are striving for, is to blot out all the lines of division in America, and create a unity of spirit and of purpose founded upon this, the consciousness that we are all men and women of the same sort, and that if we do not understand each other we are not true Americans. If we cannot enter into each other's thoughts, if we cannot comprehend each other's interests, if we cannot serve each other's essential welfare, then we have not yet qualified as representatives of the American spirit.

Nothing alarms America so much as rifts, divisions,

the drifting apart of elements among her people, and the thing we ought all to strive for is to close up every rift; and the only way to do it, so far as I can see, is to establish justice not only, but justice with a heart in it, justice with a pulse in it, justice with sympathy in it. Justice can be cold and forbidding, or can be warm and welcome, and the latter is the only kind of justice that Americans ought to desire. I do not believe I am deceiving myself when I say that I think this spirit is growing in America. I pray God it may continue to grow, and all I have to say is to exhort every one whom my voice reaches here or elsewhere to come into this common movement of humanity.

NOTE TO THE BELLIGERENT GOVERNMENTS

SIGNED BY SECRETARY ROBERT LANSING, DECEMBER 18, 1916. FROM THE "CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 64TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION, VOL. 54, PP. 633-634.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 18, 1916.*

THE President directs me to send you the following communication to be presented immediately to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Government to which you are accredited:

The President of the United States has instructed me to suggest to the Imperial German Government a course of action with regard to the present war, which he hopes that the Imperial Government will take under consideration as suggested in the most friendly spirit, and as coming not only from a friend but also as coming from the representative of a neutral nation whose interests have been most seriously affected by the war and whose concern for its early conclusion arises out of a manifest necessity to determine how best to safeguard those interests if the war is to continue.

. . . . . .

The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time, because it may now seem to have been prompted by a desire to play a part in connection with the recent overtures of the Central Powers. It has, in fact, been in no way suggested by them in its origin, and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been independently answered but for the fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be

considered in connection with other proposals which have the same end in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits and as if it had been made in other circumstances.[1]

. . . . . .

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The President suggests that an early occasion be sought to call out from all the nations now at war such an avowal of their respective views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded and the arrangements which would be deemed satisfactory as a guaranty against its renewal or the kindling of any similar conflict in the future as would make it possible frankly to compare them. He is indifferent as to the means taken to accomplish this. He would be happy himself to serve, or even to take the initiative in its accomplishment, in any way that might prove acceptable, but he has no desire to determine the method or the instrumentality. One way will be as acceptable to him as

[1] The third paragraph of the note sent to the four Central Powers: Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria.

[2] This paragraph of the note was sent to the ten Entente Allies: Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Russia, Belgium, Montenegro, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia.

another, if only the great object he has in mind be attained.

He takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects, which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war, are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world. Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small States as secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful States now at war. Each wishes itself to be made secure in the future, along with all other nations and peoples, against the recurrence of wars like this and against aggression or selfish interference of any kind. Each would be jealous of the formation of any more rival leagues to preserve an uncertain balance of power amidst multiplying suspicions; but each is ready to consider the formation of a league of nations to insure peace and justice throughout the world. Before that final step can be taken, however, each deems it necessary first to settle the issues of the present war upon terms which will certainly safeguard the independence, the territorial integrity, and the political and commercial freedom of the nations involved.

In the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world the people and Government of the United States are as vitally and as directly interested as the Governments now at war. Their interest, moreover, in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or Government. They stand ready, and even eager, to co-operate in the accomplishment of these ends, when the war is over, with every influence and resource at their command. But the war must first be concluded. The terms upon which it is to be concluded they are not at liberty to suggest, but the President does feel that it is his right and his duty to point out their intimate

interest in its conclusion, lest it should presently be too late to accomplish the greater things which lie beyond its conclusion, lest the situation of neutral nations, now exceedingly hard to endure, be rendered altogether intolerable, and lest, more than all, an injury be done civilization itself which can never be atoned for or repaired.

The President therefore feels altogether justified in suggesting an immediate opportunity for a comparison of views as to the terms which must precede those ultimate arrangements for the peace of the world, which all desire and in which the neutral nations as well as those at war are ready to play their full responsible part. If the contest must continue to proceed towards undefined ends by slow attrition until the one group of belligerents or the other is exhausted; if million after million of human lives must continue to be offered up until on the one side or the other there are no more to offer; if resentments must be kindled that can never cool and despairs engendered from which there can be no recovery, hopes of peace and of the willing concert of free peoples will be rendered vain and idle.

The life of the entire world has been profoundly affected. Every part of the great family of mankind has felt the burden and terror of this unprecedented contest of arms. No nation in the civilized world can be said in truth to stand outside its influence or to be safe against its disturbing effects. And yet the concrete objects for which it is being waged have never been definitively stated.

The leaders of the several belligerents have, as has been said, stated those objects in general terms. But, stated in general terms, they seem the same on both sides. Never yet have the authoritative spokesmen of either side avowed the precise objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people that the war had been fought out. The world has been left to conjecture what definitive results, what actual exchange of

guaranties, what political or territorial changes or readjustments, what stage of military success, even, would bring the war to an end.

It may be that peace is nearer than we know; that the terms which the belligerents on the one side and on the other would deem it necessary to insist upon are not so irreconcilable as some have feared; that an interchange of views would clear the way at least for conference and make the permanent concord of the nations a hope of the immediate future, a concert of nations immediately practicable.

The President is not proposing peace; he is not even offering mediation. He is merely proposing that soundings be taken in order that we may learn, the neutral nations with the belligerent, how near the haven of peace may be for which all mankind longs with an intense and increasing longing. He believes that the spirit in which he speaks and the objects which he seeks will be understood by all concerned, and he confidently hopes for a response which will bring a new light into the affairs of the world.

ESSENTIAL TERMS OF PEACE IN EUROPE

ADDRESS TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE, JANUARY 22, 1917. FROM SENATE DOCUMENT 685, 64TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE:

On the eighteenth of December last I addressed an identic note to the governments of the nations now at war requesting them to state, more definitely than they had yet been stated by either group of belligerents, the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace. I spoke on behalf of humanity and of the rights of all neutral nations like our own, many of whose most vital interests the war puts in constant jeopardy. The Central Powers united in a reply which stated merely that they were ready to meet their antagonists in conference to discuss terms of peace. The Entente Powers have replied much more definitely and have stated, in general terms, indeed, but with sufficient definiteness to imply details, the arrangements, guarantees, and acts of reparation which they deem to be the indispensable conditions of a satisfactory settlement. We are that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the present war. We are that much nearer the discussion of the international concert which must thereafter hold the world at peace. In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man must take that for granted.

I have sought this opportunity to address you because I thought that I owed it to you, as the counsel asso-

ciated with me in the final determination of our international obligations, to disclose to you without reserve the thought and purpose that have been taking form in my mind in regard to the duty of our Government in the days to come when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among the nations.

It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise. To take part in such a service will be the opportunity for which they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their polity and the approved practices of their Government ever since the days when they set up a new nation in the high and honorable hope that it might in all that it was and did show mankind the way to liberty. They cannot in honor withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. They do not wish to withhold it. But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they will feel free to render it.

That service is nothing less than this, to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world. Such a settlement cannot now be long postponed. It is right that before it comes this Government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a League for Peace. I am here to attempt to state those conditions.

The present war must first be ended; but we owe it to candor and to a just regard for the opinion of mankind to say that, so far as our participation in guarantees of future peace is concerned, it makes a great deal of difference in what way and upon what terms it is ended. The treaties and agreements which bring it to an end must embody terms which will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving, a peace that will

win the approval of mankind, not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the nations engaged. We shall have no voice in determining what those terms shall be, but we shall, I feel sure, have a voice in determining whether they shall be made lasting or not by the guarantees of a universal covenant, and our judgment upon what is fundamental and essential as a condition precedent to permanency should be spoken now, not afterwards when it may be too late.

No covenant of co-operative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war; and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing. The elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American governments, elements consistent with their political faith and with the practical convictions which the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend.

I do not mean to say that any American government would throw any obstacle in the way of any terms of peace the governments now at war might agree upon, or seek to upset them when made, whatever they might be. I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between the belligerents will not satisfy even the belligerents themselves. Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guarantee can be secured. The question upon which the

whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this: Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace, or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.

Fortunately we have received very explicit assurrances on this point. The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said, in terms that could not be misinterpreted, that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all—may not be the same on both sides of the water. I think it will be serviceable if I attempt to set forth what we understand them to be.

They imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

The equality of nations upon which peace must be

founded if it is to last must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend. Equality of territory or of resources there of course cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of right among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property. I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own.

I speak of this, not because of any desire to exalt an abstract political principle which has always been held very dear by those who have sought to build up liberty in America, but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace which seem to me clearly indispensable—because I wish frankly to uncover realities. Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset. It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will

fight subtly and constantly against it, and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquillity of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.

So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling towards a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory, it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality, and co-operation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto thought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them. The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult either to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the co-operation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programs of military preparation. Difficult and delicate as these questions are,

they must be faced with the utmost candor and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings, and come to stay. Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained. The statesmen of the world must plan for peace and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. Perhaps I am the only person in high authority amongst all the peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking also, of course, as the responsible head of a great government, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say. May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

And in holding out the expectation that the people and Government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named I speak with the greater boldness and confidence be-

cause it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfilment, rather, of all that we have professed or striven for.

I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power; catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

These are American principles, American policies. We could stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail.

THE DANISH WEST INDIES

MESSAGE ASKING APPROPRIATION TO PAY FOR THE DANISH WEST INDIES. JANUARY 23, 1917. FROM SENATE DOCUMENT 686, 64TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION.

TO the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith a report by the Secretary of State, with accompanying papers, concerning the treaty signed August 4, 1916, between the United States and Denmark for the cession to the United States of the Danish West Indian Islands and the obligations of the United States under the convention.

The attention of Congress is especially invited to the necessity for action being taken by the Congress during its present session that will enable the Government of the United States to discharge its conventional obligation to pay to the Government of Denmark the sum of $25,000,000, which, by Article V of the convention, the United States agrees to pay in full consideration of the cession within 90 days from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the convention. This exchange of ratification was effected on January 17, 1917, so that the good faith of the United States requires the payment of the $25,000,000 not later than April 17, 1917, and to do this, provision by the Congress during its present session for the payment is imperative.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 22, 1917.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE PRESIDENT: The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to transmit herewith a copy of the English text of a convention between the United States

and Denmark, signed at the city of New York, August 4, 1916, together with copies of the notes exchanged between the high contracting parties in pursuance of the Senate resolution of September 9, 1916, giving the advice and consent of that body to the ratification of the convention. The exchange of the ratifications of the convention took place on January 17, 1917, and the convention is, therefore, now in force as a mutually binding obligation between the two countries concerned. By Article I of this convention Denmark cedes to the United States, in return for a money payment, all territory, dominion, and sovereignty of Denmark in the West Indies, including the islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix, together with the adjacent islands and rocks. The succeeding articles specify in detail certain terms and conditions regarding the cession. By Article V the United States, in full consideration of the cession, agrees to pay within 90 days from the date of exchange of the ratifications, in the city of Washington, to the diplomatic representative or other agent of Denmark duly authorized to receive the money, the sum of $25,000,000 in gold coin of the United States. This amount is therefore due from the United States to Denmark within the period ending April 17 next.

This convention is responsive to the conviction of both Governments, as well as of the people of the islands, that the Danish West Indies should belong to the United States. This conviction, as is well known, has been manifested in earlier treaties for the transfer of these islands to the United States. Without entering upon any extended historical review of the negotiations of these earlier treaties, it may be pointed out that the first negotiations for the purchase of the islands were initiated by Secretary Seward during the administration of President Lincoln, and before the close of the Civil War, culminating in the convention signed at Copenhagen October 24, 1867, during the administration of President Johnson, for the cession of the islands

of St. Thomas and St. John. It is the opinion of students of the subject that this convention was brought about through the conviction of the United States gained by its naval operations during the Civil War, of the need of a naval coaling, supply, and repair station in the Caribbean Sea, in order that the United States might be placed on a footing with other great powers owning islands in these waters. This conviction, no doubt, was strengthened by the fact that the United States emerged from that war as a maritime power, to whom a good harbor and depot in the West Indies had become a matter of so great importance, if not of necessity, that the United States could not wish to see the Danish West Indies fall into the hands of another power.

Although the plebiscite in St. Thomas and St. John held under the treaty of 1867 was overwhelmingly in favor of the cession, and the treaty was promptly approved by the Danish Rigsdag and ratified and signed by the King, and although the period for ratification was extended from time to time to April 14, 1870, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations took no action until March 24, 1870, when Senator Sumner reported it adversely and the Senate acquiesced in that opinion.

Prior to the Spanish War overtures were again made for the cession of the islands—this time initiated by the Danish Government. During the Spanish War the question of the purchase of the islands was further agitated. Concurrently with the discussion of the Isthmian Canal and the protection of the islands obtained from Spain, a second treaty for the purchase of the Danish West Indies was signed at Washington, January 24, 1902. In reporting the treaty favorably to the Senate, Senator Cullom, of the Committee on Foreign Relations, stated:

> These islands, together with Porto Rico, are of great importance in a strategic way, whether the strategy be military or commercial. St. Thomas is the natural point of call for all European trade

bound to the West Indies, Central America, or northern South America. These islands, together with Porto Rico, form the northeastern corner of the Caribbean Sea, and are of great importance in connection with the American isthmus, where a canal will be constructed between the Atlantic and Pacific. They are of the first importance in connection with our relations to the region of the Orinoco and the Amazon and with our control of the Windward Passage.

The treaty was approved by the United States Senate February 17, 1902, but failed of ratification by a tie vote in the upper house of the Danish Rigsdag.

All of the reasons upon which the two prior treaties were based, whether strategic, economic, or political, are of more force to-day than in previous years. There can be no question as to the value of St. Thomas as a naval port, with its circular configuration, ample roadsteads, protection from prevailing winds and seas, and facilities for fortifications. Moreover, the advantages of the possession of a naval base off the entrance of the Panama Canal and near the island of Porto Rico are self-evident.

The commercial value of the islands cannot be doubted. Lying in close proximity to many of the passages into the Caribbean Sea, the use of St. Thomas Harbor as a supply station for merchant ships plying between the United States and South America, and for vessels in other trades, is of great importance. The existing modern harbor works, floating docks, marine strips and wharves provided with electric cranes, oil reservoirs, coal depots, fresh-water tanks, machine shops, and warehouses contribute to the commercial advantages of St. Thomas Harbor as a port of call and transshipment for ships in the Central and South American trades.

The political importance of extending American jurisdiction over the islands is not to be overlooked. The Caribbean is within the peculiar sphere of influence of the United States, especially since the completion of the Panama Canal, and the possibility of a change of

sovereignty of any of the islands now under foreign jurisdiction is of grave concern to the United States. Moreover, the Monroe doctrine, a settled national policy of the United States, would have caused this country to look with disfavor upon the transfer of sovereignty of the Danish West Indies to any other European nation.

In view of these considerations, the treaty of cession of these islands to the United States is a matter of no small moment to this country. I do not hesitate, therefore, to recommend that the Congress be urged to take action during the present session to enable this Government to discharge its conventional obligation to Denmark by the payment to the Government of Denmark of the sum of $25,000,000 by April 17 next.

Respectfully submitted.

ROBERT LANSING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 22, 1917.

SECOND VETO OF AN IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION BILL

MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 29, 1917. FROM ORIGINAL IN MR. WILSON'S FILES.

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

I very much regret to return this bill (H. R. 10384, "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States") without my signature. In most of the provisions of the bill I should be very glad to concur, but I cannot rid myself of the conviction that the literacy test constitutes a radical change in the policy of the Nation which is not justified in principle. It is not a test of character, of quality, or of personal fitness, but would operate in most cases merely as a penalty for lack of opportunity in the country from which the alien seeking admission came. The opportunity to gain an education is in many cases one of the chief opportunities sought by the immigrant in coming to the United States, and our experience in the past has not been that the illiterate immigrant is as such an undesirable immigrant. Tests of quality and of purpose cannot be objected to on principle, but tests of opportunity surely may be.

Moreover, even if this test might be equitably insisted on, one of the exceptions proposed to its application involves a provision which might lead to very delicate and hazardous diplomatic situations. The bill exempts from the operation of the literacy test "all aliens who shall prove *to the satisfaction of the proper immigration officer or to the Secretary of Labor* that they are seeking admission to the United States to avoid religious persecution in the country of their last permanent residence, whether such persecution be evidenced

by overt acts or by laws or governmental regulations that discriminate against the alien or the race to which he belongs because of his religious faith." Such a provision, so applied and administered, would oblige the officer concerned in effect to pass judgment upon the laws and practices of a foreign Government and declare that they did or did not constitute religious persecution. This would, to say the least, be a most invidious function for any administrative officer of this Government to perform, and it is not only possible, but probable, that very serious questions of international justice and comity would arise between this Government and the Government or Governments thus officially condemned should its exercise be attempted. I dare say that these consequences were not in the minds of the proponents of this provision, but the provision separately and in itself renders it unwise for me to give my assent to this legislation in its present form.

SUBMARINE WARFARE AND THE BREAK WITH GERMANY

ADDRESS TO CONGRESS FEBRUARY 3, 1917. FROM THE "CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 64TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION, VOL. 54, PP. 2578-2579.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

The Imperial German Government on the thirty-first of January announced to this Government and to the governments of other neutral nations that on and after the first day of February, the present month, it would adopt a policy with regard to the use of submarines against all shipping seeking to pass through certain designated areas of the high seas to which it is clearly my duty to call your attention.

Let me remind the Congress that on the eighteenth of April last, in view of the sinking on the twenty-fourth of March of the cross-channel passenger steamer *Sussex* by a German submarine, without summons or warning, and the consequent loss of the lives of several citizens of the United States who were passengers aboard her, this Government addressed a note to the Imperial German Government in which it made the following declaration:

> If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.

In reply to this declaration the Imperial German Government gave this Government the following assurance:

The German Government is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes, now as before, to be in agreement with the Government of the United States.

The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared as naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

"But," it added, "neutrals can not expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interest, restrict the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas, from whatever quarter it has been violated."

To this the Government of the United States replied on the eighth of May, accepting, of course, the assurances given, but adding,

The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th instant might appear to be susceptible of that

construction. In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.

To this note of the eighth of May the Imperial German Government made no reply.

On the thirty-first of January, the Wednesday of the present week, the German Ambassador handed to the Secretary of State, along with a formal note, a memorandum which contains the following statement:

The Imperial Government, therefore, does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation thus forced upon Germany by the Entente-Allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the Central Powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intentions of the Entente-Allies give back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

Under these circumstances Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc., etc., All ships met within the zone will be sunk.

I think that you will agree with me that, in view of this declaration, which suddenly and without prior intimation of any kind deliberately withdraws the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of the fourth of May, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which, in its note of the eighteenth of April, 1916, it announced that it would take in the event that the German Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the meth-

ods of submarine warfare which it was then employing and to which it now purposes again to resort.

I have, therefore, directed the Secretary of State to announce to His Excellency the German Ambassador that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed, and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will immediately be withdrawn; and, in accordance with this decision, to hand to His Excellency his passports.

Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German Government, this sudden and deeply deplorable renunciation of its assurances, given this Government at one of the most critical moments of tension in the relations of the two governments, I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. I cannot bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the wilful prosecution of the ruthless naval programme they have announced their intention to adopt. Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.

If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded; if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress, to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral governments will take the same course.

We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people which I sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago,—seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of wilful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany!

A GREAT INVENTOR

LETTER TO THOMAS A. EDISON ON HIS 70TH BIRTHDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1917. FROM THE NEW YORK "TIMES," FEBRUARY 11, 1917.

I WISH with all my heart that I might be present to take part in celebrating Mr. Edison's seventieth birthday. It would be a real pleasure to be able to say in public with what deep and genuine admiration I have followed his remarkable career of achievement. I was an undergraduate at the university when his first inventions captured the imagination of the world, and ever since then I have retained the sense of magic which what he did then created in my mind. He seems always to have been in the special confidence of Nature herself. His career already has made an indelible impression in the history of applied science, and I hope that he has many years before him in which to make his record still more remarkable.

ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS

ADDRESS TO CONGRESS REQUESTING AUTHORITY TO ARM MERCHANT SHIPS, FEBRUARY 26, 1917. FROM OFFICIAL PUBLICATION IN MR. WILSON'S FILES.

I HAVE again asked the privilege of addressing you because we are moving through critical times during which it seems to me to be my duty to keep in close touch with the Houses of Congress, so that neither counsel nor action shall run at cross purposes between us.

On the third of February I officially informed you of the sudden and unexpected action of the Imperial German Government in declaring its intention to disregard the promises it had made to this Government in April last and undertake immediate submarine operations against all commerce, whether of belligerents or of neutrals, that should seek to approach Great Britain and Ireland, the Atlantic coasts of Europe, or the harbors of the eastern Mediterranean, and to conduct those operations without regard to the established restrictions of international practice, without regard to any considerations of humanity even which might interfere with their object. That policy was forthwith put into practice. It has now been in active execution for nearly four weeks.

Its practical results are not yet fully disclosed. The commerce of other neutral nations is suffering severely, but not, perhaps, very much more severely than it was already suffering before the first of February, when the new policy of the Imperial Government was put into operation. We have asked the co-operation of the other neutral governments to prevent these depredations, but so far none of them has thought it wise to join us in any common course of action. Our own commerce has

suffered, is suffering, rather in apprehension than in fact, rather because so many of our ships are timidly keeping to their home ports than because American ships have been sunk.

Two American vessels have been sunk, the *Housatonic* and the *Lyman M. Law.* The case of the *Housatonic,* which was carrying foodstuffs consigned to a London firm, was essentially like the case of the *Fry,* in which, it will be recalled, the German Government admitted its liability for damages, and the lives of the crew, as in the case of the *Fry,* were safeguarded with reasonable care. The case of the *Law,* which was carrying lemon-box staves to Palermo, disclosed a ruthlessness of method which deserves grave condemnation, but was accompanied by no circumstances which might not have been expected at any time in connection with the use of the submarine against merchantmen as the German Government has used it.

In sum, therefore, the situation we find ourselves in with regard to the actual conduct of the German submarine warfare against commerce and its effects upon our own ships and people is substantially the same that it was when I addressed you on the third of February, except for the tying up of our shipping in our own ports because of the unwillingness of our shipowners to risk their vessels at sea without insurance or adequate protection, and the very serious congestion of our commerce which has resulted, a congestion which is growing rapidly more and more serious every day. This in itself might presently accomplish, in effect, what the new German submarine orders were meant to accomplish, so far as we are concerned. We can only say, therefore, that the overt act which I have ventured to hope the German commanders would in fact avoid has not occurred.

But, while this is happily true, it must be admitted that there have been certain additional indications and expressions of purpose on the part of the German press and the German authorities which have increased rather

than lessened the impression that, if our ships and our people are spared, it will be because of fortunate circumstances or because the commanders of the German submarines which they may happen to encounter exercise an unexpected discretion and restraint rather than because of the instructions under which those commanders are acting. It would be foolish to deny that the situation is fraught with the gravest possibilities and dangers. No thoughtful man can fail to see that the necessity for definite action may come at any time, if we are in fact, and not in word merely, to defend our elementary rights as a neutral nation. It would be most imprudent to be unprepared.

I cannot in such circumstances be unmindful of the fact that the expiration of the term of the present Congress is immediately at hand, by constitutional limitation; and that it would in all likelihood require an unusual length of time to assemble and organize the Congress which is to succeed it. I feel that I ought, in view of that fact, to obtain from you full and immediate assurance of the authority which I may need at any moment to exercise. No doubt I already possess that authority without special warrant of law, by the plain implication of my constitutional duties and powers; but I prefer, in the present circumstances, not to act upon general implication. I wish to feel that the authority and the power of the Congress are behind me in whatever it may become necessary for me to do. We are jointly the servants of the people and must act together and in their spirit, so far as we can divine and interpret it.

No one doubts what it is our duty to do. We must defend our commerce and the lives of our people in the midst of the present trying circumstances, with discretion but with clear and steadfast purpose. Only the method and the extent remain to be chosen, upon the occasion, if occasion should indeed arise. Since it has unhappily proved impossible to safeguard our neutral

rights by diplomatic means against the unwarranted infringements they are suffering at the hands of Germany, there may be no recourse but to *armed* neutrality, which we shall know how to maintain and for which there is abundant American precedent.

It is devoutly to be hoped that it will not be necessary to put armed force anywhere into action. The American people do not desire it, and our desire is not different from theirs. I am sure that they will understand the spirit in which I am now acting, the purpose I hold nearest my heart and would wish to exhibit in everything I do. I am anxious that the people of the nations at war also should understand and not mistrust us. I hope that I need give no further proofs and assurances than I have already given throughout nearly three years of anxious patience that I am the friend of peace and mean to preserve it for America so long as I am able. I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any steps that need lead to it. I merely request that you will accord me by your own vote and definite bestowal the means and the authority to safeguard in practice the right of a great people who are at peace and who are desirous of exercising none but the rights of peace to follow the pursuits of peace in quietness and good will —rights recognized time out of mind by all the civilized nations of the world. No course of my choosing or of theirs will lead to war. War can come only by the wilful acts and aggressions of others.

You will understand why I can make no definite proposals or forecasts of action now and must ask for your supporting authority in the most general terms. The form in which action may become necessary cannot yet be foreseen. I believe that the people will be willing to trust me to act with restraint, with prudence, and in the true spirit of amity and good faith that they have themselves displayed throughout these trying months; and it is in that belief that I request that you will authorize me to supply our merchant ships with defensive

arms, should that become necessary, and with the means of using them, and to employ any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits on the seas. I request also that you will grant me at the same time, along with the powers I ask, a sufficient credit to enable me to provide adequate means of protection where they are lacking, including adequate insurance against the present war risks.

I have spoken of our commerce and of the legitimate errands of our people on the seas, but you will not be misled as to my main thought, the thought that lies beneath these phrases and gives them dignity and weight. It is not of material interests merely that we are thinking. It is, rather, of fundamental human rights, chief of all the right of life itself. I am thinking, not only of the rights of Americans to go and come about their proper business by way of the sea, but also of something much deeper, much more fundamental than that. I am thinking of those rights of humanity without which there is no civilization. My theme is of those great principles of compassion and of protection which mankind has sought to throw about human lives, the lives of non-combatants, the lives of men who are peacefully at work keeping the industrial processes of the world quick and vital, the lives of women and children and of those who supply the labour which ministers to their sustenance. We are speaking of no selfish material rights but of rights which our hearts support and whose foundation is that righteous passion for justice upon which all law, all structures alike of family, of state, and of mankind must rest, as upon the ultimate base of our existence and our liberty. I cannot imagine any man with American principles at his heart hesitating to defend these things.

"A LITTLE GROUP OF WILLFUL MEN"

ADDRESS TO THE COUNTRY, MARCH 4, 1917. FROM THE NEW YORK "TIMES," MARCH 5, 1917.

THE termination of the last session of the Sixty-fourth Congress by constitutional limitation disclosed a situation unparalleled in the history of the country, perhaps unparalleled in the history of any modern Government. In the immediate presence of a crisis fraught with more subtle and far-reaching possibilities of national danger than any other the Government has known within the whole history of its international relations, the Congress has been unable to act either to safeguard the country or to vindicate the elementary rights of its citizens. More than 500 of the 531 members of the two houses were ready and anxious to act; the House of Representatives had acted, by an overwhelming majority; but the Senate was unable to act because a little group of eleven Senators had determined that it should not.

The Senate has no rules by which debate can be limited or brought to an end, no rules by which dilatory tactics of any kind can be prevented. A single member can stand in the way of action, if he have but the physical endurance. The result in this case is a complete paralysis alike of the legislative and of the executive branches of the Government.

This inability of the Senate to act has rendered some of the most necessary legislation of the session impossible at a time when the need of it was most pressing and most evident. The bill which would have permitted such combinations of capital and of organization in the export and import trade of the country as the circumstances of international competition have made imperative—a bill which the business judgment of the whole

country approved and demanded—has failed. The opposition of one or two Senators has made it impossible to increase the membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission to give it the altered organization necessary for its efficiency. The Conservation bill, which should have released for immediate use the mineral resources which are still locked up in the public lands, now that their release is more imperatively necessary than ever, and the bill which would have made the unused water power of the country immediately available for industry have both failed, though they have been under consideration throughout the sessions of two Congresses and have been twice passed by the House of Representatives. The appropriations for the army have failed, along with the appropriations for the civil establishment of the Government, the appropriations for the military Academy at West Point and the General Deficiency bill. It has proved impossible to extend the powers of the Shipping Board to meet the special needs of the new situations into which our commerce has been forced or to increase the gold reserve of our national banking system to meet the unusual circumstances of the existing financial situation.

It would not cure the difficulty to call the Sixty-fifth Congress in extraordinary session. The paralysis of the Senate would remain. The purpose and the spirit of action are not lacking now. The Congress is more definitely united in thought and purpose at this moment, I venture to say, than it has been within the memory of any men now in its membership. There is not only the most united patriotic purpose, but the objects members have in view are perfectly clear and definite. But the Senate cannot act unless its leaders can obtain unanimous consent. Its majority is powerless, helpless. In the midst of a crisis of extraordinary peril, when only definite and decided action can make the nation safe or shield it from war itself by the aggression of others, action is impossible.

Although, as a matter of fact, the Nation and the representatives of the Nation stand back of the Executive with unprecedented unanimity and spirit, the impression made abroad will, of course, be that it is not so and that other Governments may act as they please without fear that this Government can do anything at all. We cannot explain. The explanation is incredible. The Senate of the United States is the only legislative body in the world which cannot act when its majority is ready for action. A little group of willful men, representing no opinion but their own, have rendered the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible.

The remedy? There is but one remedy. The only remedy is that the rules of the Senate shall be so altered that it can act. The country can be relied upon to draw the moral. I believe that the Senate can be relied on to supply the means of action and save the country from disaster.

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This bibliography is a continuation of that published in volume 2 of the Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson. It is founded upon the Princeton bibliographies compiled by Messrs. Brown and Leach. Some 337 new citations and additions have been made to this section. One other section will appear in later volumes of the Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson.

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H. S. L.

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